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ABSTRACT

During March 1972 the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce of the U.S. Senate held hearings on the Surgeon General's Report by the Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. The complete text of those hearings is presented here. Included in those who testified before the committee were the Surgeon General, Dr. Jesse Steinfield, some of the members of the Advisory Committee, representatives of television networks and professional associations, and members of citizens' groups. Numerous additional articles, letters, and statements which were submitted to the Committee by educators and researchers throughout the country are also presented. (JY)

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SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARCH 21, 22, 23, AND 24, 1972

Serial No. 92-52

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THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

TUESDAY, MARCH 21, 1972

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 5110, New Senate Office Building, Hon. John O. Pastore (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pastore, Cannon, Hollings, Baker, Cook, and Stevens.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR PASTORE

Senator PASTORE. The hour of 10 having been reached, this hearing will come to order. I have an opening statement which will be slightly longer than usual and I would hope that both the members of the committee, the witnesses, and the public will bear with me while I read it into the record.

Then Senator Baker has a statement to make; and then, according to protocol and the courtesies of the committee, we have a member of the House of Representatives here who has a statement to make with reference to this report. We will hear him first and then we will hear Dr. Steinfeld, the Surgeon General. And then we will proceed to call other witnesses.

Today the committee continues a task it began over 3 years ago, when, on March 5, 1969, I wrote to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, requesting that he direct the Surgeon General of the United States to appoint a committee of distinguished men and women from whatever professions and disciplines he deemed appropriate to conduct a study which would establish insofar as possible the effects, if any, violence on television has on children.

One week later, on March 12, the then Surgeon General, Dr. William H. Stewart, appeared before this committee in open hearing and advised us he was going to appoint an expert panel to study the question in a few weeks.

On June 3, 1969, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued a public statement announcing the appointment of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee. The statement listed the members of the Committee, their backgrounds and affiliations, and also stated that the broadcast industry had been invited to consult in the development of this research.

Staff members assigned to these hearings: Nicholas Zapple and John D. Hardy.

Periodically, from that time until today the Committee has received in open hearing progress reports from Dr. Stewart and his successor, the present Surgeon General, Dr. Steinfeld.

I was determined from the outset that the Surgeon General have absolute discretion to select his Committee and conduct the study I had requested. In fact, my initial request was specifically stated in those terms.

The absolute discretion I requested was intended to insulate him not only from Government or political pressures but pressures from any source whatsoever.

On May 7, 1970, more than one year after creation of the Surgeon General's Committee, I received a letter from Dr. James Jenkins, Chairman of the Board of Scientific Affairs of the American Psychological Association, raising certain questions about the manner in which the Surgeon General's Committee was selected.

On June 18, 1970, I receive a report from the Surgeon General, Dr. Steinfeld, in which he stated, among other things, the following:

> As a general policy, HEW does not allow industry an opportunity to review potential nominations for membership to any advisory committee, whether it affects that industry or not. However, in the past nine years there have been two exceptions to this policy, which we feel were in the public interest.
>
> These exceptions were the Surgeon General's Committee on Smoking and Health, and the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. In each of these cases, members of the affected industry were given a long list of highly qualified candidates for the Committee and were invited to indicate any doubts they might have concerning the scientific impartiality of any of the individuals on that list.
>
> It is important to recognize that the industry did not affirmatively assist in the selection process but simply registered objections to individuals whom it felt were not impartial. In the case of the Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, there were objections by industry to seven of the 40 names proposed.
>
> Surgeon General William Stewart chose to select the members for service on this Advisory Committee from those candidates to whom there were no objections raised by members of the industry. This special procedure was carefully considered and used to prevent any charges that the Government was intimidating that industry or violating the First Amendment rights of that industry should the Surgeon General's Committee report on the research results prove highly critical of the television industry.

Without objection, the letters of Dr. Jenkins and the Surgeon General will be placed in the record of this hearing.

(The letters follow.)

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN HUMAN LEARNING,
Minneapolis, Minn., May 7, 1970.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: In my capacity as Chairman of the Board of Scientific Affairs of the American Psychological Association. I received the enclosed letter. The letter charges that the networks were permitted to censor the list of candidates for the Surgeon-General's Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

Knowing of your interest in this matter, I am turning to you for help. If these charges are true, the American Psychological Association will protest vigorously to Secretary Finch. We would greatly appreciate your help in making inquiries of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in an effort to get the facts of the matter before us.

Thank you for your kind assistance.

Sincerely,

JAMES J. JENKINS,
Chairman, Board of Scientific Affairs, American Psychological Association.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNCIATIONS,
Stanford, Calif., April 6, 1970.

Professor JAMES JENKINS,
Department of Psychology,
University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minn.

DEAR PROFESSOR JENKINS: I am an APA member writing to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Board of Scientific Advisors of APA. I recently learned that security black-listing was not the only basis for keeping people off of HEW Scientific Advisory Committees. In the case of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, appointed last July, a list of forty respective names was compiled. A letter was then sent to the heads of the three television networks asking if they had any objection to any of the names listed. Six names were objected to including Lenard Berkowitz of the University of Wisconsin and Al Bandura of Stanford. None of the six names objected to by the industry was appointed to the committee, although both the Research Director of CBS and the Research Director of NBC, as well as two academic people who are regular consultants to CBS are included on the committee.

In a conversation with Donald Bliss of Finch's office, I was assured that the facts as I had presented them were correct and that they were looking into the matter, but I do not yet have an admission in writing or other written confirmation. In an attempt to get the facts stated in writing. I arranged to have Senator Lee Metcalf send the enclosed letter to Finch. I will let you know then a report is received. I am also enclosing a copy of a letter I sent to Bliss after my latest conversation with him.

My purpose in writing is to suggest that this be brought to the attention of the APA Board of Scientific Advisors at their next meeting in case the Board wishes to take any action.

Yours sincerely,

EDWIN B. PARKER,
Associate Professor.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., June 18, 1970.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: The Secretary has asked me to respond to the inquiry of May 7, 1970, you received from Dr. James J. Jenkins on the procedures used in the appointment of members to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

As a general policy, HEW does not allow industry an opportunity to review potential nominations for membership to any advisory committee, whether it affects that industry or not. However, in the past nine years there have been two exceptions to this policy, which we feel were in the public interest.

These exceptions were the Surgeon General's Committee on Smoking and Health, and the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. In each of these cases, members of the affected industry were given a long list of highly qualified candidates for the Committee and were invited to indicate any doubts they might have concerning the scientific impartiality of any of the individuals on that list.

It is important to recognize that the industry did not affirmatively assist in the selection process but simply registered objections to individuals whom it felt were not impartial. In the case of the Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, there were objections by industry to seven of the 40 names proposed.

Surgeon General William Stewart chose to select the members for service on this Advisory Committee from those candidates to whom there were no objections raised by members of the industry. This special procedure was carefully considered and used to prevent any charges that the Government was intimidating that industry or violating the First Amendment rights of that industry should the Surgeon General's Committee report on the research results prove highly critical of the television industry.

Since it was in response to your request that Secretary Finch directed Dr. Stewart to appoint this advisory group, you are of course already aware of the early work of the Committee from the progress report that was made to you last winter. As you know, the purpose of this Committee is to initiate and evaluate original research. I am pleased to report to you that the entire $1 million made available for this program has been allocated among over twenty new research projects, and the work is now actively underway.

This research covers a broad spectrum of inquiry and includes work being accomplished by some of our most competent research scientists at some of the major centers for mass communication research. The only criterion for the support of this work has been the quality and scientific merit of the research. Thus, one of the seven individuals not appointed to the Advisory Committee is doing one of the major pieces of research in this program. Indeed, some scientists were not actively considered for membership on the committee precisely because it was hoped they would pursue research which would make an important contribution to the overall findings and conclusions of the total study.

I know that the work, while still at an early stage, is proceeding well. I am sure that Dr. Jenkins and Dr. Parker share with us the hope that this research effort will provide significant new information in this very important area of television and social behavior.

If I can be of further assistance on this matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

JESSE L. STEINFELD, M.D.,
Surgeon General.

Senator PASTORE. I believe that the offer of veto even though it involved only seven of the 40 names compiled by the Surgeon General was most unfortunate. However, I am reassured by the advisory committee's discussion of this issue and their recommendations.

However, we do have a report which in the words of the Surgeon General "represent substantially more knowledge than we had two years ago."

The critical importance of every additional bit of knowledge we acquire is best put in perspective I believe by the words of an eminent psychiatrist writing on the subject of violence. He said:

> It all depends on what value we place on human life.
>
> We do not know what small seeds may have been sown that may come to fruit in unfavorable circumstances arising much later. If the mass media seduce only one child each year to unfeeling, violent attitudes, and this child influences yearly only one other child, who in turn affects only one other, there would be in 20 years 1,048,575 violence-prone people. The mass-media audience is so large that what their apologist call very few may be actually a very large number indeed. In 1952 only the very small proportion of 0.024 percent per 100,000 died in automobile accidents. Applied to the whole population of the United States, that means that 37,794 people lost their lives.

The findings and conclusions of the report, and the methods employed to conduct the study itself, are all being thoroughly scrutinized by the scientific community; and I would hope their examination will be vigorous and take many forms.

To everyone who has read it—layman as well as scientists—it is apparent the report is couched in conservative, cautious terms. After all this is a highly complex subject. Nevertheless certain basic conclusions have emerged. During the course of these hearings the committee will hear from the Surgeon General, members of his committee, and many of the experts who did original research for the report. Among other things, I would hope these distinguished men and women will spell out as simply as possible for the benefit of us all what these conclusions are; and what steps the Surgeon General, the scientific community, the agencies of Government, and the broadcast industry and should take in view of them.

As I said on September 28, 1971, when the Surgeon General appeared to give the committee a progress report:

> "* * * I would hope that the Surgeon General in due time will come before this Committee, not with a lot of ifs and buts, but will tell us in a simple language whether the broadcasters ought to be put on notice and be very, very careful in this area, because it might have an effect on certain people.

In a like vein other scientific experts are also invited to come forward and express their views to the committee. This then is one level on which I believe critical examination of the report should proceed.

The report specifically outlines additional areas which members of the advisory committee believe worthy of further study. Hopefully this matter will be explored, and various sectors of the scientific community will tell the committee of their plans to pursue these issues as well as others which may be relevant to the central question we are seeking to answer.

And, I would hope we would not stop our examination of the report at that point. There are many who contend that the research and studies underlying the report support much stronger and more positive conclusions than the Surgeon General's committee unanimously made. We should have the benefit of these views. It is only prudent to do so. Not in a spirit of acrimony or incrimination, but with the thought foremost in mind that from the give and take of controversy the best ideas will emerge.

Similarly, many highly respected members of the scientific community feel that additional methods of studying the effects of our current television fare should have been employed.

For example, one eminent psychiatrist who has done considerable work in the field has over the years urged that the problem be studied clinically by examination and observation of children, followup studies over a considerable period, analysis of early conditioning, study of physique, of social situation, and so forth.

The aim of clinical study is to take a longitudinal view of a child's life, and his psychological process.

In this connection, the report of the Surgeon General's committee noted the paucity of information about the influence of television on the psychological growth and development of young children.

According to the report, considerable discussion within the committee centered upon the desirability of exploring the hypothesis that television is a factor in early childhood experience that substantially shapes the aggressive potentiality of most children, which may then be later influenced by the ongoing effects of violence-viewing on television.

For whatever reasons, only a small portion of the committee's research was focused on this area.

The Surgeon General, of course, had absolute discretion to proceed as he in his expertise saw fit. I for one, as a layman, do not feel qualified to weigh the merits of this contention. But as one who is directly responsible to the American people, together with my colleagues, I believe it is incumbent upon me to see that scientific opinion on both sides of the issue is thoroughly explored. Again not for reasons of incrimination or fault finding, but to assist the dedicated men and women who are studying this problem. It may be that there are additional methods of research which will add significantly to what we now know. If so, the scientific community should be supported and encouraged in its endeavors.

Other members of the scientific community have maintained that studies should focus on television program content, not children.

In their view television is our 'electronic folklore.' As such it is, along with the family, a principal socializing agency for our children. A primary way in which we teach, inculcate, and orient them to our loyalties, standards, judgments, and values.

I believe the language of the report eloquently recognizes the importance of television in this respect:

> Television should seek to avoid presenting any human beings as animal-like, without conscience, or without concern for the persons they care for or who care for them, since to do so endorses and facilitates the dehumanization and destruction of the victims of that treatment. Overt or subtle cues about the victims' characteristics may reinforce in the viewer's mind images which he identifies and dislikes in himself. He then represses, renounces, and imposes them upon some dehumanized outsider.
>
> Insofar as television presents victims with which viewers cannot identify and empathize, it may encourage viewers to accept and endorse violence as a simplistic solution to the conflict portrayed. Insofar as television more realistically presents both human beings and human conflicts in their complex human form rather than in simplistic dehumanized form, it could well offer opportunity for more full experience as a human being. While there might be less pleasure and more conflict, more humanity would be encouraged in viewers.

It seems to me that here perhaps is an area where the television industry can take the initiative and imaginatively produce programs that will reflect these noble ideas. After all, television is a substantial part of our cultural environment; and it has the freedom to decide whether it will upgrade or pollute that environment.

Briefly, I have tried to outline what I hope will be the tenor of these hearings, and what I believe we can accomplish in the days ahead.

We all must constantly realize, however, our journey is just beginning. Long and arduous effort is still before us.

Now the Chair recognizes the Senator from Tennessee.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR BAKER

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

May I begin this brief statement first by commending you for your leadership in this very important field. Because of Senator Pastore's efforts beginning in 1969 and the dedication of the Surgeon General, his Advisory Committee, and the researchers, we today have a report that takes us beyond the personal beliefs and educated guesses that have been the basis for previous action or inaction by the FCC, broadcasters and the Congress.

President Nixon has said that by the time an average child finishes high school, he has had approximately 11,000 hours of school and 14,000 hours of television. That fact alone should put us on notice that we must understand the influence and effect of television on our children. While some questions have been answered by this report, others remain and in fact as our society evolves, there will probably continue to be changes in the relationship between television and our society causing new questions to arise.

It is obvious that the task of the advisory committee was not easy. Social behavior and mental health are not subject to precise analysis. And where specific conclusions are possible, it is often difficult to translate those conclusions into public policy. This frustrating dilemma was alluded to by the advisory committee in its discussion of Prof. Scott Ward's study of the effect of television advertising on children:

> On the one hand, it is possible to speculate that early experiences with questionable television advertising engenders a high degree of cynicism among youthful viewers which may reflect itself ultimately in a general sense of distrust and alienation. In contrast, these kinds of early experiences may very well be viewed as helping to develop the kind of healthy skepticism that will serve to immunize viewers against propaganda.

But tentative as the conclusions of this report may be, they must not be used as an excuse to postpone their serious consideration by parents, educators, government, and the broadcasting industry. As others will inevitably do, I find some questions contained in the report more interesting than others. I will be particularly interested in the effect of the child's environment on his behavior and how the various factors in that environment affect his reaction to television and televised violence.

I look forward to receiving the views of all of our witnesses. I realize this is a complex area and there may be some controversy about the conclusions. But everyone—the broadcasters, FCC, Congress, educators, and parents—look to the scientific community for advice.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you. Would any other member of the committee like to make an opening statement?

The Chair will recognize the Honorable Representative John M. Murphy of New York.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN M. MURPHY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE 16TH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Mr. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for affording me the opportunity to appear before you today. I hope that this committee can finally come to grips with the problem of TV violence. Previous attempts to do this on the part of several House and Senate committees, the Federal Communications Commission, and the President's Commission on Violence have been marked by failure. I say failure because the groups I have referred to have deplored violence on television; they have, with varying degrees of sophistication, pointed to TV violence as a negative influence on human behavior; and they were lulled into inaction with promise from the TV industry that there would be a diminishment of violence if the industry were allowed to clean up its own house.

The net result of all of this has been a lamentable cipher.

Over and above the question of whether TV violence is harmful, the networks have, for the past 18 years, assiduously violated their own codes of ethics and standards of broadcasting. In the face of this 18-year history of failure at self-control, I feel it is safe to conclude that we cannot depend on the TV industry to clean its own house of TV violence.

They obviously will not.

As proof of this, I offer a just released report entitled "The Violence Index: A Rating of Various Aspects of Dramatic Violence on Prime-Time Network Television; 1967 through 1970." I have been asked by the author of the report, Dr. George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, to submit this document to this committee. The findings prove again what those of us who have been involved with this issue have always known.

The networks are infatuated with violence.

The portrayal of violence is one of the easiest ways to attract an audience and most important of all, it sells soap.

I will submit the entire Gerbner study for the record, and would observe that there has not been the diminution in TV violence that has been promised throughout the years. To the contrary, the long-term trend is in the direction of increased violence.

This study not only shows us how much violence has saturated our TV screens, but it also measures just how brutal, savage or prolonged the violence was. The study shows that while the overall violence ratings of network programs declined slightly over the years covered, movie violence on TV rose sharply as did so-called comic-violence. Children's cartoons are still by far the most violent and new programs were more violent each year than were programs continued from the previous year.

The report summary concludes with the statement: "The violence trends were similar for each of the networks except that by 1970, ABC's rating has equaled that of CBS, traditionally the least violent, with NBC clearly emerging as the most violent." This is not surprising to me in view of the outstanding effort the National Broadcasting Co. has expended over the years to influence investigations of the impact of televised violence on youth.

This company which has led the fight to negate the efforts of those in Government who were trying to eliminate programing based on the pulp magazine concept of prurient sex and violence for violence's sake, far outdistances its competitors in this area—even as bad as the others are. In 1 week's sample of prime time and Saturday morning programs in 1970, nearly 90 percent of NBC's programing contained episodes of violence. This was opposed to an average of 73 percent for the other two networks.

The "kill ratio," that is, all those involved in killing either as killers or as killed or both, of NBC was four times as great as the American Broadcasting Co. and twice that of CBS.

The violence index, which is derived from a complicated formula that measures incidence, rate, saturation, characterization, and lethal violence, developed by Dr. Gerbner and his associates, shows NBC at the 203-percent level as opposed to 161 percent for the other two networks. That is on the basis of a possible 300 percent.

I am convinced that the only thing that could have prevented this mass commitment to violence on the part of the network would have been a strong statement from the scientific community that such a commitment was indeed injurious to the social well-being of the citizens of this Nation. That is why I looked with hope on the request of the chairman of this committee, Chairman Pastore, when he asked that the Surgeon General embark on a scientific assessment of the impact of crime, violence, and brutality-saturated television on the people of the United States.

The first misgivings, of course, came in the wake of the disclosure that the TV industry actually had a major role to play in the makeup of the advisory committee to the Surgeon General. After many months of apparent industry manipulation and internal struggle, the report was issued and our original misgivings were partly confirmed. It appeared that while the TV industry could no longer prevent Government-sponsored research from coming to fruition as they did under the Ribicoff committee, they did arrange it so that they could participate in the interpretation of what had been done.

The result of all this has been an alleged misrepresentation of some otherwise excellent research that has caused a rebellion, not only among the scientists who were originally blackballed from the advisory committee, but among many of the scientists who actually participated in and contributed to the vast fund of knowledge that has been garnered as a result of this effort.

In an attempt to rectify what I felt to be a shortcoming in the history of this project, I surveyed the researchers who were denied the opportunity to serve on the Surgeon General's Committee to elicit their views on both the original selection process and on the summary report. I was amazed at the candor of these academicians on both counts. When it became public knowledge that I had questioned the Surgeon General's report, other researchers, some associated with the study, volunteered their opinions to me in writing. I submit the full texts of these letters for inclusion in the record,[1] and would briefly give some of the more significant comments from them.

Senator **Pastore**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

I want to remark to the distinguished Representative that this committee has invited these seven men to testify. Whther or not they will come, I don't know. But they have been invited to come. And we would appreciate it very much if they did come.

Mr. **Murphy**. The comments fell generally into three categories: The makeup of the committee; the summary report; and an indication of needed future action.

Dr. Ralph Garry, who has spent the last 20 years studying the effects of television on children, and one of the blackballed scientists, wrote:

> I concur completely with your views that it was improper for network officials to serve on the Advisory Committee. I do not think the rejection of the remaining six panelists was defensible.

Dr. Leon Eisenberg, professor child psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, and another vetoed researcher voicing "protest and dismay," wrote:

> I do protest, as I would have without my name having been involved, at a procedure which allows industry to screen from a scientific panel those to whom it has objections at whatever level . . .

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[1] The letters begin on p. 12.

> . . . It is difficult to justify a report in which people whose interest might very well be expected to lie with the television industry are allowed to serve as judges when some of the best minds that have worked on the problem are disqualified because their works has suggested contrary conclusions.

Dr. Eisenberg indicated he was referring mainly to the two outstanding researchers in this area, Drs. Albert Bandura and Leonard Berkowitz, of whom he wrote:

I was troubled that Professors Bandura and Berkowitz, who had done some of the very best work of the question were being excluded because their work had demonstrated a meaningful relationship between watching aggression and subsequent behavior."

Dr. Eisenberg concluded:

> If having done work on the issue before the group is to be the basis of disqualification, then one can only assemble a panel of incompetent evaluators.

Dr. Percy Tannenbaum, professor of communication and psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, who was denied a role on the Advisory Committee, but who conducted a major piece of its research "condemned" the selection procedure used, and wrote:

> By allowing the television networks and the National Association of Broadcasters an exclusive veto power, the then Surgeon General committed a moral and scientific faux pas.

The summary report itself was attacked by the aforementioned Dr. Berkowitz, who wrote:

> It is clear that the committee as a whole exercised questionable judgment in their summary of the research findings.

He applauded those who performed research for the Advisory Committee and are now objecting to what was done with their efforts. Dr. Berkowitz said:

> First, let me say I am in complete agreement with Professor Robert Liebert and believe that he and his colleagues have performed a notable public service in challenging the summary advanced by the Advisory Committee. In my opinion, Professor Liebert is quite correct in disputing the committee's conclusion that the aggression-enhancing effect of televised violence is restricted to a few young people.

Dr. Eisenberg said of the report:

> A number of the members of the Surgeon General's committee are known to me personally to be individuals of high integrity. I frankly do not understand how they could have signed their names to so equivocating a report.

The report's conclusions were questioned by many of those who did the research in addition to those already known to this commitee, such as Dr. Monroe Lefkowitz. Drs. Aletha Stein and Lynette K. Friedrich wrote to me of their wonderment when the Advisory Committee played down their findings that aggressive TV increased the aggressive behavior of half of the children they studied, and that aggressive programs had deleterious effects on the children's ability to exert self-control and to tolerate minor frustrations.

And while their research found no positive effects of aggressive television, the Surgeon General's report quotes one of their findings indicating a positive effect on cooperative behavior for one small subgroup of children. This result, the doctors complained:

> . . . is a very small difference that does not approach scientifically accepted standards of statistical significance. In view of the careful attention given to qualifying our other findings, we find it strange that this result is stated with the implication that it is a reliable difference between groups.

Professor L. Rowell Huesmann, who participated in one of the most telling pieces of research on the negative effects of TV violence, wrote of his virtual harassment by the Advisory Committee in their attempts to, in effect, take his research apart. Dr. Huesmann concluded, "The biased nature of the committee membership seems to have led to a compromise where the truth was lost."

The most eloquent reply came from Dr. Albert Bandura of Stanford University, who has done historic work in this field—which meant he was one of those vetoed by the TV industry. He wrote:

> The irate researchers whose findings were irresponsibly distorted in the Surgeon General's report are fully justified in the objections they have raised. In addition to distoring research evidence, some highly pertinent studies demonstrating that violence viewing causes children to behave aggressively are not even mentioned, a double standard is used in evaluating individual studies depending on how their findings relate to the industry viewpoint, questionable assumptions about the determinants of aggression are presented as established facts, and the very methods by which knowledge on this issue can be advanced are cavalierly misrepresented. The report concludes on a high moral tone pointing out that otherwise good people can act in ways that have injurious consequences for others, and that it is important to promote empathy with the victims. It is unfortunate that these moral concerns did not operate more forcefully within the Advisory Committee itself.

I submit these letters and their attachments for the record, Mr. Chairman, and ask that they be printed following my remarks.

In conclusion, I find myself in agreement with those scientists who wrote to me of what our future course should be. We should now look to the five volumes of technical reserach that was done for this monumental study and bypass the equivocal summary.

Based on my discussions with the experts in this field, I feel that an objective reading of the scientific evidence will force us to the conclusion that TV fare as presently constituted is harmful to our children.

The false impression created by the original press coverage of the Surgeon General's report which misled the country is now being rectified. The people of the United States are beginning to find out the true implications of the report and I am certain that these hearings will be instrumental in clarifying the facts altogether.

Mr. Chairman, as a result of these hearings, if you are convinced that a review of the conclusions of this report is necessary, as I am convinced you will be, I recommend that this committee call on the Surgeon General to establish a review panel of social scientists that have no connection with or vested interest in the TV industry to reevaluate the conclusions that can be derived from this impressive array of scientific studies. A precedent of sorts was set for just such a review in the earlier instance of the Surgeon General's committee on smoking and health when the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association were afforded the opportunity to react to the findings of the panel which had been screened by the cigarette industry.

We are dealing here, in part, with the future social-psychological makeup of our Nation's youth and, as such with the future of our Nation. This committee has it in its power, based on the knowledge that was so arduously obtained by these studies, to take whatever steps are necessary to force the highest officials in the television industry to act responsibly in an area where in my judgment they have acted with an unconscionable degree of irresponsibility.

Thank you.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much, Congressman, and I would hope if your time permits that you would be present at these hearings. And if you have anything further to add or to say, I want you to know that it would be most welcome by this committee.

Mr. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PASTORE. Any questions of the Congressman?

Thank you very much, sir.

(The letters referred to follow:)

THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada, February 14, 1972.

Hon. JOHN M. MURPHY, M.C.
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I appreciate your interest in my reactions to the selection procedure adopted in forming The Surgeon General's Committee on Television and my opinion of the research results.

I cannot answer your question definitively. I had cordial associations, both professional and personal with network officials, producers, sponsors, etc. of children's programs for a half dozen years prior to accepting the assignment with the Senate Subcommittee. Once I became consultant to the Subcommittee I was labelled as "having joined the enemy."

Enclosed is a copy of a speech I delivered a year ago which recounts the history of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children as well as my views with regard to the television networks.

In my judgment, I think my exclusion from consideration for the Advisory Committee was proper. But such a decision should have been made by the Surgeon General or his representative, not by the television industry. In this regard I think Dr. Stanton at CBS took appropriate action in not responding to The Surgeon General's request to eliminate candidates. *And I concur completely with your views that it was improper for network officials to serve on the Advisory Committee. I do not think the rejection of the remaining six panelists was defensible.*

Your suggestion of the need to review the research which has been carried out is most appropriate, and I would think the Congress or perhaps the Subcommittee which commissioned the study, would insist on such a review, not only of the validity of the research but also its applicability to the original question regarding "possible harmful effects." Several studies seem irrelevant. I strongly urge that the Congress establish a Scientific Advisory Panel drawn from professional organizations such as The American Psychological or Sociological Associations, much in the manner of the one that The Surgeon General established to evaluate the research on smoking and cancer. Needless to say, there should be no industry representatives on the panel. The Advisory Panel should be charged with the respensibility of evaluating the research and the research results. It should inquire into the views of the researchers about the present report. My understanding is that some are dissatisfied. In my judgment such panels will become more and more necessary in reviewing and interpreting data on complex social and environmental problems.

It is impossible to tell much about the studies from the report. One would have to read the original studies. But certainly there are a number of questions which can be raised regarding the adequacy of the research, without being picayune. As I'm sure you know, it isn't difficult to find something to criticize or some limitation in nearly any piece of research in the social sciences. But it is fair to ask: Is the research question or hypothesis worthy of an answer? Has it been posed in a way which permits an answer? Is the research methodology appropriate for the question and is it the best currently available?

Yours very truly,

RALPH GARRY,
Professor and Chairman, Department of Curriculum.

Enclosure.

SPEECH OF PITTSBURGH AREA PRE-SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

(By Professor Ralph Garry, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto)

Anyone who would speak to you definitively about the effects of television is foolhardy. As much as anyone who would speak of the effects of wives on husbands. At most, one is into a best-guess situation. But while it may be a matter of circumstance that we have limited information on the influence of wives and women—after all, the hypothesis about the good woman behind every male success has never really been tested—it is no accident that we lack research on the effects of commercial television on children's behavior. It is no accident that thousands of research studies have been done on the effects of educational television and practically none on commercial television. And it is no accident that network officials argue that until we have more research, we have no basis for regulating broadcasters. But I shall speak of this later.

Violence in this country has reached such a critical stage that a *National Commission on the Cause and Prevention of Violence* was created to make an official investigation—a sad commentary on the times. It would be interesting to gather data on the nature and extent of violence before and after television. Do we actually have more or are we merely made more conscious of it by television. If more, is it because of the portrayals of violence, or the portrayals of wealth, prosperity, and material success to the deprived? And what of the nature and extent of resistance to warfare? Do Vietnam battle scenes served on TV along with dinner, contribute to public acceptance or public rejection of warfare? What influence does television have in shaping the values of its viewers, particularly those of children? These are only a few of the many questions of crucial importance which are being ignored.

What conclusions did the National Commission report a year ago regarding the effects of violence in television? First of all the Commission recognized that the advertising managers of major corporations are not foolish men—they would not spend millions of dollars annually on television commercials unless *they knew* they could influence viewer's buying habits, which means they know television has some influence on motivation and on behavior. Secondly, the evidence is clear that television can teach—absolutely as well as live teachers!

The Commission concluded that "violence on television programs can and does have adverse effects upon audiences—particularly child audiences." They made other points in support of this position.

1. Television serves as a source for incidental observational learning.
2. This learning depends on the degree to which the child can identify with television characters as well as the extent to which he can perceive utility or anticipate gratification from his viewing experience.
3. Younger children between the ages of 3 and 8 years are particularly susceptible to observational learning.
4. The "reality" of the portrayal affects observational learning, especially with younger children for they are still in the process of learning to discriminate between fantasy and reality.
5. Many children believe the world they see on television is a reflection of the real world (Parenthetically it can be added that this is especially true of children from poorer economic levels).
6. In learning to play real life roles, many adolescents consciously rely on television models.
7. There is little support for the catharsis or draining-off approach—research shows that televised violence stimulates aggressive behavior.
8. Children can and do learn aggressive behavior from what they see on television and this can be retained over a period of time.
9. The image of the adult world which most children get from television drama is by and large an unwholesome one.
10. Television enters powerfully into the learning process of children and teaches them a set of moral and social values about violence which are inconsistent with the standards of a civilized society.

Sounds like poison, doesn't it?

The Commission did *not* conclude that television was a principal cause of violence in society. They saw it as only one factor, but an important one, contributing to violence. Nor was the Commission concerned with broader aspects of the influence of television.

During the same period, the British Television Research Committee dealt with the same problem of media violence, although within a broader framework. A comparison of the statements of the two groups is of interest. The British Committee calls attention to the limitations of the research results to date, and to the difficulties of research in this area. It came to the more cautious conclusion that "observation of mass media violence heightens the probability of subsequent aggressive behavior . . ." "that for some people violence in the media can be unhealthy and detrimental. The difficulties of the frustrated, maladjusted and isolated can be intensified, and already existing deviant behavior patterns may be reinforced." The Committee points out that it would be wise not to underestimate the risk in this connection. The Committee also recommended that certain programs be abandoned and stricter methods of control instituted.

The two committees are substantially in agreement in their general conclusion, although the British Committee is more circumspect, and justifiably so, if the case is to rest on research results. But should the case rest on research results? I think not, and I have four reasons.

First, the research will not be adequately supported.

Second, many of the research projects which are supported will be biased.

Third, the results of the research will have no effect on broadcasting policies.

Finally, the methods of research presently available in the social sciences are incapable of providing answers to the extremely complex questions involved in sorting out the cumulative effects of media from those other socializing influences.

Let me consider the last item first—our research capacity relative to the research task. In addition to the statements of the effects enumerated above, there are a number of other indications from research of the effects of television. First that the impact upon children is greater where the values recur from program to program, where a dramatic form of presentation evokes an emotional reaction, where the values presented are linked with immediate needs and interests, where the child is not already supplied with a set of values from other sources such as family or friends, where his peer group identification is low, where the presentation is not counter to group norms, where the viewer is uncritical and attached to the medium.

We see here a mixture of conditions linked to the individual, to his age and intelligence, to his social situation. There is further evidence that identification with program characters is sex-linked, that affects vary with program content, i.e. aggressive behavior may be affected differently than nurturant behavior, that the expression of effects depends upon the similarity between program and social settings. This is a mere beginning of a catalogue of the conditions determining the effects of television. In short, we face an extremely complicated research task, certainly no simple search for a one to one relationship between love on television or violence on television and child development. To pose the problem in a different vein: With respect to attitudes or values, how do we sort out the effects of television on your children from the effects of you on your children, and even more, how do we control the effect of TV on your attitudes and your subsequent effect on your children? And I haven't mentioned Sunday School or church or friends.

Returning to my first three reasons for not basing the case for social decision on research—namely, that the research will be inadequately supported, the projects biased, and the results ignored.

Let me report the history of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children, a project in which the federal government, the television industry, and private foundations undertook a program to initiate and support research on the influence of television in the lives of children. I think the account will support my convictions and raise some doubts about the Surgeon-General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. This is the committee created as a result of the request of Senator John Pastore, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications, to Robert H. Finch, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that the Surgeon General appoint a committee "to devise techniques and to conduct a study . . . which will establish scientifically insofar as possible what harmful effects, if any, these programs have on children".

Between 1955 and 1962, the Foundation for Character Education, a small Boston foundation concerned with the moral and ethical development of young children, sponsored a series of seminars which brought writers, producers, and sponsors of children's television programs, as well as network personnel together with social scientists to discuss children, their needs, our scientific knowledge of them, and the implications for programs for children. Inevitably at the end of each seminar, the recommendation would ensue: "We need more research". Persuaded by the logic of their arguments, I drafted a two-page proposal which in essence said: first, let's look at what is now being broadcast for children, and pick the best as models until we learn more from research about children's responses to programs. You must realize that most programs for children are produced at local level on shoe-string budgets by relatively inexperienced people who don't want a career in children's television. The networks couldn't care less about children's programs. Naturally, they are astute enough to keep a showcase program, but Captain Kangaroo would have been killed years ago by CBS but for some irate mothers. Let me document this by reporting an interrogation between myself and Mr. Walter Scott, then Executive Vice-President of NBC, and subsequently promoted. This occurred at the investigation from 1961–1963 of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency into the Effects of Young People of Violence and Crime Portrayed on Television.

Dr. Garry. Mr. Scott, when you came before this committee on the 15th of June last year, you were reporting on NBC's programing for children and you mentioned the "Shirley Temple" program. Was that program broadcast during this year?

Mr. Scott. No, it was not.

Dr. Garry. At the time you testified had the decision been made to drop the program?

Mr. Scott. Yes, it would have been.

Dr. Garry. So in effect you were describing NBC's programing for the preceding year rather than what its plans were for the coming year.

Mr. Scott. I was decribing the then-existent current schedule.

Dr. Garry. Why was it dropped?

Mr. Scott. The program was a good program. It did not get as large audiences as we would have liked. (Also, the time period in which it had been was going to be used for the new Walt Disney series that we had made a commitment for and which was to be programed in the time period that had been occupied by Shirley Temple.)

Dr. Garry. At the same time you described the outstanding appeal of "National Velvet" for children. Will this program be continued next year?

Mr. Scott. No. It was continued this year but will not be next year.

Dr. Garry. Why was it dropped?

Mr. Scott. (Here again, it has been dropping off somewhat in its audience and it will be replaced by a full hour show that will be the first family 1-hour family drama program of its kind, a program called, "It's a Man's Life," which will be the story of young men who are attending a college in Ohio, a very warm program that will be produced by Peter Tewksbury, the man who currently produces "My Three Sons.")

Dr. Garry. How many children are watching "National Velvet"?

Mr. Scott. Currently?

Dr. Garry. Yes.

Mr. Scott. I would think probably, oh, maybe 4 or 5 million.

Dr. Garry. The latest rating I have was the November Arbitron rating which shows 7½ million. As a matter of fact "Cheyenne" had 8 million; "National Velvet," 7½ million; "Pete and Gladys," 7 million. As as far as the child audience was concerned, it was competing quite successfully. Was consideration given to the needs of this audience in dropping the program?

Mr. Scott. (In our opinion, by replacing the half hour "National Velvet" with the full hour, 60-minute, "It's a Man's World," we will get a program that will have quite similar appeal and will have a very strong appeal to young people, and will be a very wholesome family drama.)

Dr. Garry. You are hoping in effect to hold the same child audience and increase the adult audience with this new program.

Mr. Scott. We would like to have a larger all-family audience.

Dr. Garry. The vital factor in dropping it was that "National Velvet" did not appeal to the adults nearly as well as "Pete and Gladys" and "Cheyenne."

Mr. Scott. That is true.

You will excuse me if I digress, however relevant. Returning to the main argument, I took the proposal to the three networks, the major association for advertising agencies, and the Ford Foundation. I was told the Foundation would give a planning grant provided I obtained the consent of the networks. The networks ranged from lukewarm at CBS, to cold at NBC and ABC (vice-presidential level), to ice-cold at the advertising association. So bury another deserving idea.

As chance would have it, I was invited to serve as consultant to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency inquiry into the effects of television violence on young people. I consented on the condition that we devote our efforts to fixing responsibility for decisions about programs in prime time. The red herring dragged out by the networks has always been that television schedule is a soup cooked by many cooks—producers, sponsors, advertising agencies, network, and so on ad nauseum. We documented, by subpoena of records, that the network presidents, Treyz at ABC, Aubrey at CBS, and Kintner at NBC were very much in control of what was broadcast in prime time. Dr. Stanton of CBS, a Ph.D. in psychology, found it difficult to understand the statistics which showed that a visit to Hollywood of his president in charge of television, James Aubrey, had produced a significant change from violence to sex in a prime-time program which wasn't doing as well as hoped in the ratings. Another network president, gave false testimony. But then they are all honorable men. But forgive me, again I am digressing. I had accepted the task in the naive, schoolboy belief that a congressional committee inquiry was designed to obtain information needed for the promulgation of laws. It was anything but that. The responses and attitudes of network personnel very quickly turned the inquiry into an adversary proceeding. If you presented an one-ended question, you get smog in return. As a result, a series of questions would proceed like this.

Question. *"What amount do you spend on research?"*

Answer. (Reluctant to reveal exact amount) "I don't have the exact figures."

Question. *"Is it a large amount of money?"*

Answer. "Yes."

Question. *"What fraction of your research budget do you spend on researching the effects of programs on children?"*

Answer. "I don't have the figures but I can obtain them" (hoping the inquiry will end before the figures are provided).

Question. *"Forget the exact proportion, is it a very large amount?"*

Answer. "No."

Question. *"Do you think it important to conduct research in this area?"*

Answer. "Yes."

Question. *"Would your network support such research?"*

Answer. "I can't speak for the network."

Question. *"In your position as president, would you recommend that it support such research?"*

Answer. "Yes" (hoping to appear in a favorable light).

The result was that each of the networks, plus the National Association of Broadcasters committed themselves to the support of research on the effects of television on children. A memorandum from the Chairman of the Subcommittee to the then Secretary at HEW (Abraham Ribicoff) led to his inviting the networks to join in a mutual effort, later to be known as the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children. At first the networks refused, fearing that the project was designed to pin responsibility for delinquency on the networks. On reassurance that this was not the case, a steering committee, including a representative of HEW, myself, representing The Foundation for Character Education, network officials, and representatives of the NAB, held a series of meetings which led to the formation of the Joint Committee in early 1963. In the interim, the Ford Foundation, on the basis of the commitments of network personnel made in public record, agreed to cooperate in providing funds to support the planning stages. During the same period, I had taken the initiative with the support of the Foundation for Character Education, of calling a meeting of a small group of researchers to suggest directions for research. The group included Schramm, Eleanor and Nathan Maccoby, Klapper (about to take a position with CBS as Director of Social Research), Rainsberry, and Lazerfeld, then the recognized dean of sociological research. Lazersfeld was at first reluctant, asking if this was really an effort to get essential answers to important questions, or merely another whitewash for the television industry. In my naivete, I assured him it was the former. Unfortunately, it was neither, for it was to produce practically nothing, other than this report to you.

I was later to understand Lazerfeld's reluctance. It seems he had agreed to carry out a piece of research for CBS—later published as Steiner's *The People Look at Television*—which in advance he recognized would yield kudos for television. He had agreed on the condition that he and his colleagues be supported in carrying out four additional substantial pieces of research. Unfortunately, but not accidentally, the Steiner project consumed all the funds so that the four projects could not be launched. Of even greater interest, was the fact that the recommendations coming from this small group were totally rejected by the Joint Committee simply because the meeting had not been carried out under its auspices. So, in retrospect, here was step one in learning how to block research. Nevertheless the Joint Committee was formed, with representatives from each of the networks, from the National Association of Broadcasters, from HEW, and myself. Broadcasting representation was at the Director of Research or vice-presidential level or both.

The first action of the Joint Committee was to call a three day conference of experts to advise on needed research. Some 25 social scientists participated including Bandura, Berkowitz, Pool, Lyle, Mendelsohn, McPhee, Riley, and Schramm. Their recommendations of needed research encompassed a range of topics and methodologies: children's perception of programs, content studies, immediate effects, cumulative effects, development of programs designed for children, and the decision-making process determining programs. It was also interesting to note that the broadcasters wanted no part of the last two, developing programs for children and decision-making processes. They feared that any inquiry into the development of programs which appealed to children would lead to the establishing of model programs which they would have to follow. And obviously they didn't want anyone to identify who and how decisions about programs for children were determined. Why didn't they? Because broadcasters like to pretend that being fathers, they have father's concerns when it comes to deciding what to broadcast, when, in fact, it is only the buck that counts: children are a commodity to be exploited. The profit and loss statement is the determinant, not the social balance sheet of whether or not the audience is best served.

There was a second lesson to be learned from this research conference, namely the concern of the network representatives about the basis for determining who would be selected. And given a majority voice, it is surprising that Bandura and Berkowitz were invited. However that was before these two researchers, competent though they are, published research findings which showed negative effects of violence on child viewers. You may be assured that the television industry saw that Bandura and Berkowitz can give no counsel to the Surgeon-General on his projected research, which essentially is intended to determine if television violence is to children what smoking is to lung-cancer.

The next step of the Joint Committee was to invite social scientists to indicate their interests in doing research on the influence of television on children. Several thousand requests were mailed out to pyschologists, sociologists, and mass media researchers. Roughly one hundred expressed their interest by submitting one-page outlines of research. Some 30 of these researchers were selected, and the authors paid a stipend of $250 to develop their proposal in detail. An outside review panel was elected to review the proposals. Its members consisted of Harris at Penn. State, Withey at Michigan, Maccoby and Schramm at Stanford, Bronfenbrenner at Cornell, Stephen at Princeton, Hoffman at Oregon, Rulon at Harvard, and Berkley at Boston. Their evaluations were submitted and collated. Then ensued an interesting development. The members of the Joint Committee, namely the industry representatives, chose to constitute themselves as a review committee, largely ignoring the recommendations of the outside reviewers. Take note of the time schedule. Research conference in February, 1963. Initial requests out for research ideas, and subsidized proposals in hand by September. Proposals forwarded to external review committee and their evaluations received by mid-October. (Of the 30 proposals received, at least seven and possibly ten were well-conceived and designed.) *Final authorization* on the first research project occurred *18 months* later in May and June of 1965, and one of these to a researcher whose earlier work had favored the conclusion that violence on television had a cathartic effect on aggressive behavior of viewers. Is it any surprise that the top-rated projects could not be carried out because the investigators would not wait two years to learn if the Joint Committee was willing to support their proposals?

Lesson number three: give *deliberate*, even if *time-consuming* consideration to decisions as to what research proposals to support. With each passing month, the probability increases that the researcher won't be available. The net result of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children is that they funded two research studies and one biased review of research in seven years.

So what does this add up to? Quite simple, that broadcasters do not want research done on the effects of television on children. In spite of lip-service to the contrary, they will work effectively to block it.

Now consider this. Three of the members of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children, it's Chairman, the Vice-president of NBC, in charge of research and a Director of Research for CBS are serving on the Surgeon-General's Committee.

Even more interesting was a copy of a letter I received from Dr. Stanton of CBS to the Surgeon General in which he refused to comment on the acceptability to the teleivsion industry of the forty scientists listed on the panel from which the committee was to be selected. When I learned that NBC and ABC had black-balled seven, I gave a guess that Bandura, Berkowitz, and myself, were included. A report in Science (22 May 1970) the publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science confirmed this, adding the names of four others, Bogart, Eisenberg, Larsen, and Tannenbaum. It seems that HEW asked the television industry to identify and person on their panel who, in the industry's opinion, could not provide impartial scientific judgment of the matters to be considered by the committee.

There is no question that the industry will be hard-put to challenge the final results of research sponsored by a committee which they have screened. But notice that in the earlier instance of the Surgeon General's Committee on Smoking and Health, other interested parties such as the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association were afforded opportunity to react to the panel. This is not the case in this instance, with the result that five of the twelve members of the Surgeon General's Committee have close ties to the industry ; of course, it may be coincidence.

Secretary Finch argued that the television case involved the added issue of first Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press. This is another red herring used by broadcasters to confuse issues. First of all, the major portion of time and programs broadcast is entertainment, not information and news. Secondly, control over what is broadcast, news or otherwise, is controlled by network or by station. The equal time doctrine of the FCC provides some relief. In comparison note that, it is possible for an individual or group to publish a newspaper or magazine. It is impossible for them to broadcast without permission of the Federal Communication Commission, and the major outlets are controlled by the three networks. If you wish details, inquire with the American Civil Liberties Union.

I hope I have added some substance to support my convictions that it is futile to seek answers about the effects of television from research. The task is complex, difficult, and therefore prohibitively expensive. One million dollars sounds like a lot of money. How far would one million have gone in getting to the moon, which cost 25 billion? Not far—yet the research problem is infinitely more complex. The process is long and tedious. All this assumes that honest questions can be asked and researched. In my judgment, they cannot. The most powerful men in the country today are the chieftains of television. If they cannot directly block the inquiry, as they finally did with the 1961 hearings, they will obfuscate procedures by loading committees, by delaying tactics, by rejecting research projects which come close to the heart of the problem, by sponsoring "favorite sons".

If you believe me, I'm taking away the comfort you might find in turning to research for answers. Instead, you are forced to make your own decision, on what is essentially an economic and political question, rather than a scientific one. In effect, I am saying that good judgment with respect to child rearing did not begin with Dr. Spock, that the responsibility for the well-being of children and care in their development to maturity is the responsibility of all adults in their various capacities.

This means that, at a minimum, you will have to decide if the characters on the television screen are fit companions for your child ; at least you can reject what is offered. But if you want more, you won't get it here. Unfortunately, I fear that we, you and me, find more comfort than stimulus in meetings such as this. We end up feeling we've done a good thing by listening and talking, and hope that television will straighten itself out. I don't think it will, and I doubt we want it to, for we apparently enjoy television as it is.

Finally, let no one attribute this statement to sour grapes. For over ten years I've patiently attempted to persuade television officials to be socially responsible. My patience has finally run out. This will serve to add one more documentation to their irresponsibility. In 1961 we set as minimum goals to document network disregard for children. Add this to the 1954 Kefauver hearings and the recent Pastore hearings and you have a twenty year record. It may well take another twenty years.

In closing, I want to return briefly to another reality. When a 2½ year old responds to your question by saying "I'm funning with TV", she has obviously discovered its function, entertainment. When at three, in response to a scene on the screen, she turns and kisses you, she is responding emotionally to television's content. When at four, she comes running down stairs pointing, "Bang-Bang, I kill you, Daddy, now you kill Mommy," she's acquiring some ideas about behavior. And when at five, she sits playing in front of a doll house she sings to herself, "Vietnam, Vietnam, let she go, let she go, why you killing her, why you killing her, I kill you, you kill me, let she go, to her mother, let she go to her mother . . ." her values are being shaped.

Thus the question:

Are these the values you wish children to live by?

Have we, as adults, nothing to say to children about how life can be lived?

Must we accept the values of the lords of television?

Or is it that television is true to life: that we *are* acquisitive, aggressive, murderous, striving to succeed (whatever that means) at any price?

Perhaps children, humans, *are* no more than commodities, to be used and cast away as rubbish on Monday morning when we are finished with them.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Stanford, Calif., February 17, 1972.

Congressman JOHN M. MURPHY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MURPHY: The Surgeon General's Report demonstrates that the television industry is sufficiently powerful to control how research bearing on the psychological effects of televised violence is officially evaluated and reported to the general public.

The combined findings of laboratory experiments, controlled field studies, and correlational investigations provide substantial testimony that televised violence, through its instruction and sanction of aggressive methods, reduces restraints over behaving aggressively and shapes its form. Exposure to televised violence increases the likelihood that some viewers will behave aggressively in the face of other inducements. The irate researchers whose findings were irresponsibly distorted in the Surgeon General's Report are fully justified in the objections they have raised. In addition to distorting research evidence, some highly pertinent studies demonstrating that violence viewing causes children to behave aggressively are not even mentioned, a double standard is used in evaluating individual studies depending on how their findings relate to the industry viewpoint, questionable assumptions about the determinants of aggression are presented as established facts, and the very methods by which knowledge on this issue can be advanced are cavalierly misrepresented. The report concludes on a high moral tone pointing out that otherwise good people can act in ways that have injurious consequences for others, and that it is important to promote empathy with the victims. It is unfortunate that these moral concerns did not operate more forcefully within the advisory committee itself.

The public is entitled to a fair evaluation of the evidence regarding television influences on behavior rather than a report written from the industry viewpoint. This sorry case further illustrates the need for procedures to ensure that in the future scientific advisory panels will not be controlled by the very industries whose practices they are supposed to evaluate.

I applaud your efforts to pursue this issue. If I can be of any assistance, please feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

ALBERT BANDURA, *Professor.*

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY,
COLLEGE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT,
University Park, Pa., February 28, 1972.

Congressman JOHN MURPHY,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.
(Attention of Penny Frank).

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MURPHY: The following comments are a summary of our interpretation of the findings of our study, "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior," conducted as part of the research commissioned for the Surgeon General's Report. In our study, one group of children was shown a series of aggressive cartoons, a second group was shown "neutral" children's films, and a third group was shown a program demonstrating positive behavior (Mistergoers' Neighborhood). The children's behavior was observed in a natural setting, the nursery school, before the programs were shown, during a four-week period in which programs were shown three times a week, and during a two-week period after the programs ended.

Two types of behavior were of particular concern: aggressive behavior and self control. The aggressive behavior that we scored was interpersonal—both physical and verbal attacks on other children. We did not include playful aggression of the cowboys and Indians variety in that category. The principal result was as follows: among the children who were initially above average in aggression (before the programs were shown), those who saw the aggressive cartoons were more aggressive after viewing than those who saw the other types of programs. *It appears that the aggressive cartoons increased the aggressive behavior of these children. The group who showed these effects was fully half of our sample; that is, those who were above the group average in aggression before seeing the films. We emphasize that they are not a small or deviant group of children; they were a sample of normal preschool children.*

The second type of behavior of concern was self control. In particular, we were concerned with the children's ability to tolerate minor frustrations and to accept responsibility for obeying the few rules imposed by the nursery school. The children who saw the aggressive cartoons showed a sharp drop in frustration tolerance in comparison to the children who saw the other types of programs. They also dropped in their obedience of rules. These findings were true of the entire sample; they were not restricted to any subgroup. *We believe that they indicate that the aggressive programs had deleterious effects of children's ability to exert self control and to tolerate minor frustrations.*

Finally, *we found no positive effects of aggressive television.* The Surgeon *General's Report quotes a finding indicating positive effects on cooperative behavior for one subgroup of children. This result is a very small difference that does not approach scientifically accepted standards of statistical significance. In view of the careful attention given to qualifying our other findings, we find it strange that this result is stated with the implication that it is a reliable difference between groups.*

Sincerely,

ALETHA STEIN, Ph. D.,
Associate Professor of Human Development.
LYNETTE K. FRIEDRICH, Ph. D.,
Assistant Professor of Child Development.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY,
Berkeley, Calif., March 2, 1972.

Hon. JOHN M. MURPHY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MURPHY: This is in response to your letter of February 8, soliciting my reactions and comments in the wake of the issuance of the Report of the Surgeon-General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. I believe it important that members of the Congress—especially those on committees with a direct interest in this area—acquaint themselves with the report and its background, not to mention the five volumes of technical research reports which are due to be published in the near future. You are obviously to be commended for your continuing involvement with such issues and for your concern with the criteria governing the selection of the Advisory Committee.

I think that by now it is pretty well agreed by virtually all parties concerned that the selection process left much to be desired. My own belief is that any exclusionary power is totally inappropriate in the selection of a scientific advisory committee, and that appropriate procedures exist within such agencies as the National Institute of Mental Health or the National Science Foundation to make the selection on the basis of scientific credentials alone. Further, if any single vested interest group is given such a privilege—it bears repeating that I condemn such a procedure in the first place—then it should be granted to other such groups, and certainly to some professional and/or public representatives. In the present case, by allowing the television networks and the National Association of Broadcasters a virtual veto power the then Surgeon-General (or whoever it was that determines such procedures) committed a moral and scientific faux pas. Oddly enough for an act with obvious political motivation, it was also a political mistake—if for no other reason than it allowed anyone finding fault with the report on any other pretense an apparent and readily available excuse for attack. In this sense, it is so obvious and blatant an error that I cannot help but wonder if it was not intentional. Thus, while I deplore the blackballing incident—on professional rather than merely personal grounds—it did not come as a surprise, but as part of the essentially political nature of the entire enterprise.

On a more personal level, I might add that I did not accept my being excluded from the committee as a personal affront, nor as a valid commentary on my scientific credibility—in fact, considering the credentials of several of my blackballed bedfellows, along with the apparent (on this I can only guess, of course) reasons for the exclusions, I am inclined to accept it more as a compliment. Even if I were not vetoed, it is problematical that I would have been asked to serve on the committee; if asked, it is doubtful I would have served since I was, and still am, more interested in actually conducting needed research.

But, however improper the blackballing incident may have been, I do not believe we should attribute any shortcomings of the report directly to that event alone. There were a number of other characteristics of the situation which all combined to predetermine the nature of the report. There was, to begin with, the central issue itself—the casual effect of aggressive TV content, as such, on anti-social behavior is intrinsically difficult, if not impossible, to separate from other factors. It is also terribly difficult to do adequate and appropriate research in this area—anti-social behavior, by its very nature, is virtually impossible to investigate directly and unambiguously without violating other socially ethical standards. Then, too, there was the abrupt crash-program character of the research program—many qualified investigators were already committed to other research projects, and hence unavailable. Similarly, the indicated limited time span probably precluded a number of projects from being submitted and put serious crimps in others.

These initial factors were probably sufficient to predict a qualified report, and additional factors involving the committee itself virtually assured it. Apart from the specific individuals involved, the apparent intention for a "broad-cased" committee representing a range of social science disciplines, often with little in common and operating by quite diverse rules of evidence, precluded methodological and theoretical agreement. Add to this the committee's own decision for a consensus report and its tentative and qualified nature was predetermined. It was a consensus report in that no formal dissensions were presented; they are apparent, however, it the words of the report itself.

I am, of course, quite aware of the controversy that has followed in the wake of the report, especially comments from Drs. Lefkowitz and Liebert, as well as several members of the committee staff. I do not feel it is appropriate for me to comment on these commentaries—they are, after all, personal viewpoints to which the individuals are perfectly entitled. I assume more of this will be apparent as a result of the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications scheduled for March, hopefully with more specific documentation for their opinions.

I am also uncertain as to the proper form for a complete review of the report itself, as you request in your letter. I happen to be one who, quite apart from this particular instance, feels that such reports should be critically reviewed by an appropriate scientific body, and perhaps such an effort may be mounted in the near future. But in criticizing the report, one also has to consider the research—both that stemming from an earlier period and that conducted under the aegis of the committee—upon which it is allegedly based. That too much be subjected to scrutiny, and I am afraid one could find a good deal lacking, partly for the reasons mentioned earlier. Somewhere along the line, a society such as ours must decide whether the importance of a problem justifies conducting rigorous research which, in itself, may have some harmful side-effects. By the same token, a society such as ours has to develop criteria and means to take concerted action even when all the evidence is not in hand. We have undertaken such ventures in the past and will undoubtedly do so in the future, but on a hit-and-miss basis. On the particular issue of violence in the media, Congress can take the lead on both fronts—that of facilitating the appropriate research, and that of setting up rules and procedures by which rational policy decisions can be made. When such a critical group as our own children are involved, and when the sheer risk of damaging consequences is high enough, can we afford to wait until all the evidence is in hand? By then it may be too late and the "clear and present danger" may be a thing of the past.

I will be out of the country for the next several weeks on my research, but I look forward to following your action in this area with interest.

Sincerely,

PERCY H. TANNANBAUM,
Professor.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY,
New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1972.

Hon. JOHN M. MURPHY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MURPHY: In talking to Monroe Lefkowitz on the telephone this week, I learned that you are trying to see to it that the findings from the studies on television and aggression do not get swept under the rug because of the surgeon General's wishy-washy report. I am very happy you have taken up this cause and would like to offer whatever assistance I can. If the New York Time's has quoted you correctly, you have expressed many of the thoughts that I have had.

I am enclosing a copy of a short article about our study which Len Eron and I prepared for *American Psychologist.* You may find this somewhat easier to follow than the more technical full report that Monroe has sent you.

My specialty is multivariate statistics, and my role in the research has been primarily that of a mathematician and computer scientist. Hence, if you have questions regarding the mathematical technique invoked in extracting implications about causation from correlational data, I might be able to help you.

Incidently, Monroe may not have mentioned one of the particularly frustrating experiences we had with the Surgeon General's committee. *From the start they expressed a great deal of skepticism about our results including questioning my qualifications as a statistician.* I feel no need to defend my qualifications, since my background would speak for itself, and *I was quite happy to discover that the committee had asked two independent researchers to critique my analyses* (David Kenny of Northwestern and John Neal of Stony Brook). *It would have been nice if the committee had told us they were doing this.* (we only discovered it when David Kenny called and asked for more data), *but that was not too bothersome. What is upsetting is that the two critiques are not mentioned anywhere in the body of this summary. As you might guess, both critiques, while finding some points of contention, were generally very supportive of our techniques and findings. Apparently, the committee ignored them. They are mentioned in the list of reports submitted, but no where else in the summary. At the same time the committee included all sorts of comments about "statistical problems" and innuendos about "methodological difficulties" when discussing our report. Why did they not include their own consultant's comments on these topics?*

I do not mean to impugn the integrity of the committee. I am sure they were all trying to do the best they could. However, *the biased nature of the committee membership seems to have led to a compromise where the truth was lost.*

Sincerely,

L. ROWELL HUESMANN,
Assistant Professor of Psychology.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY,
Madison, March 13, 1972.

Congressman JOHN M. MURPHY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MURPHY: This is a belated reaction to the Report to the Surgeon General on the impact of televised violence prepared by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee. I am sorry for the long delay, but the press of other matters kept me from getting to this letter.

First, let me say I am in complete agreement with Professor Robert Liebert and believe that *he and his colleagues have performed a notable public service in challenging the summary advanced by the Advisory Committee. In my opinion Professor Liebert is quite correct in disputing the Committee's conclusion that the aggression-enhancing effect of televised violence is restricted to a few young people.* The available evidence, from studies sponsored by the Committee as well as from many other investigations as well. does indicate that people with strong aggressive habits are most strongly affected by movie and television aggression. Less aggressive people are also apt to be affected, however. To say they may be less affected does *not* mean they will not ever display any enhanced aggressiveness.

The consistent findings obtained in this research and in the many other experiments carried out earlier indicate that *many* persons can be stimulated to aggression by the violence they see on the screen. The depicted aggression, I believe, functions as a stimulus activating the aggressive habits that most people have—although highly aggressive people are likely to be most strongly affected. Putting this another way, I would say a high proportion of people can be influenced by what they see, but situational conditions determine whether they will display overt aggression themselves. For most persons the effect may well be too weak and too short-lived to show up in open aggression. However, if situational conditions for one reason or another should lessen their inhabitions against aggression, or if they should be emotionally roused or excited at the time, the open violence might be displayed. We are all capable of reacting aggressively to movie violence, in other words, but typically don't show this because we usually are too restrained. However, on some occasions we may not be sufficiently inhibited and the aggression could well be revealed.

This is not to say that every portrayal of violence on the screen will have such an effect. Some kinds of aggressive scenes might serve to dampen the chances of aggression on the part of the audience. Nevertheless, the type of aggression typically shown on movie and TV screens can increase the chances that people in the audience will act aggressively themselves.

In some ways this summary of the resarch findings represents a stronger statement than I have made previously. As recently as the December 1971 issue of the magazine *Psychology Today* I said that the probability that people in the audience will themselves be stimulated to aggression is very slight although not zero (but indicated that this was nevertheless an important consideration because the audience numbers in the tens of millions). The consistent pattern of findings obtained by many investigators using a wide variety of subjects, few of whom are emotionally disturbed or hyper-aggressive, now suggests to me that the probability of aggressive effects is somewhat greater than I had suspected. Moreover, this effect is true of adults as well as youngsters and can be produced by movies as well as TV programs. The issue of movies may well be more complicated, both legally and socially, than TV programs, but the latter should not be considered apart from the former when questioning the effects of violence shown on the screen.

I have not said anything about possible biases within the Advisory Committee and don't wish to impugn the motives of the Committee members. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Committee as a whole exercised questionable judgment in their summary of the research findings. Professional biases of various sorts might have contributed to this somewhat distorted judgment. Since any science develops cumulatively, the Committee should have had some members intimately familiar with the total package of research on this problem. (This is somewhat akin to having physicians who have never worked with cancer as a research problem to evaluate the efficacy of various cancer treatments.)

I hope these remarks are of some assistance to you.

Sincerely,

LEONARD BERKOWITZ,
Vilas Research Professor in Psychology.

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL,
MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL,
Boston, Mass., February 14, 1972.

Hon. JOHN M. MURPHY,
U.S. House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MURPHY: In view of your long interest in the problem of violence on television and its effects on children, I feel obliged to try to answer the very difficult questions posed in your letter of 8 February 1972.

The first deals with the issue of my blacklisting from the membership on the Surgeon General's committee. Indeed, I knew neither that I had been proposed nor that I had been blacklisted until the article which appeared in *Science* on 22 May 1970. Since my qualifications were simply those of a clinician rather than those of an investigator who had done actual work on the problem, I did not think the striking of my name was any great loss to the committee itself, but *I was troubled that Professors Bandura and Berkowitz who had done some of the very best work on the question were being excluded because their work had demonstrated a meaningful relationship between watching aggression and subsequent behavior. Indeed, 15 fellows at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford signed an open letter protesting this procedural step and you will note that the Surgeon General's committee itself expresses dismay (on page 24 of the report). Protest and dismay seem inadequate to deal with the fact that 2 of 12 committee members are directly employed by TV networks and 3 have had major prior connections as employees or consultants. I am not alleging that any of the 5 has not been fair-minded in reviewing the evidence, but it is difficult to justify a report in which people whose interest might very well be expected to lie with the television industry are allowed to serve as judges when some of the best minds that have worked on the problem are disqualified because their work has suggested contrary conclusions.*

Indeed, this general principle applies to the selection of expert consultants on the appraisal of any scientific matter.

If having done work on the issue before the group is to be the basis of disqualification, then one can only assemble a panel of incompetent evaluators. All of us would agree that expert committees should be free of the suspicion of conflict of interest. But in the ordinary sense, conflict of interest refers to a commercial stake in the outcome rather than professional conviction. Scientists will often not agree on a matter for which the evidence is inconclusive. Thus, one tries to balance a committee with members who tend to support one or another side but whose integrity is considered such that they are open to persuasion if the balance of the evidence runs contrary to their hypothesis.

I would like to make it clear: I see no reason to complain about my exclusion since I think I had less to offer than a number of the people who served on the committee and certainly than some of those who were excluded from it. *I do protest, as I would have without my name having been involved, at a procedure which allows industry to screen from a scientific panel those to whom it has objections at whatever level.* I thought the statement made by James Jenkins, Chairman of the Board of Scientific Affairs of the American Psychological Association, particularly appropriate. He commented: *"It looks like an exemplar of the old story of the 'regulatees' running the 'regulators' or the fox passing on the adequacy of the eyesight of the man assigned to guard the chicken coop."*

Now as to the report itself, I have not had the chance to study it in detail nor to check the many studies referred to in its text. A casual perusal indicates that somewhere within its pages is to be found any statement one wishes to extract from it to support whatever position one prefers. The most notable thing about the report is its equivocation. After three readings, I still am not sure what if anything is the committee's recommendation in its "summary chapter" (pages 1–19), other than that more research be done.

The committee assumes the position that unless there is compelling evidence that the display of violence on television is a major cause of violence in our society, then nothing need be done. One might equally well argue that unless there is compelling evidence that violence on television is *not* related to violence in the society, then steps should be taken to alter the nature of programming. This is much like the debates before the Food and Drug Administration as to whether the manufacturers' corporate interest should be protected by allowing a product to be marketed until human tragedy results or whether suspicion of carcinogenic properties should cause something to be withdrawn before an epidemic occurs.

The committee could well have argued, and it is a position that I would want to have attended to carefully, that the net effect of efforts to impose censorship might be more destructive to American society than any possible content on television resulting from the excesses of commercial interests. That is no trivial consideration. But as the recent testimony before the Senate revealed, almost all humanly meaningful topics are ruled off television by commercial self-censorship lest potential buyers be offended, and television becomes a continuous distortion of reality. If that is the best we can do, a little less violence in that mix would be a gain for all.

What I find astonishing is a failure to bring into the main set of recommendations a clear statement that the stereotyping of minority group members in the content of television in all probability serves to reinforce attitudes which lead to violence and counter-violence. Indeed, the report acknowledges this issue (pages 42–44) but mentioning it buried in the midst of the report and not bringing it forth as a central aspect of its conclusion seems to me inexcusable.

There is much more to be said. One could have asked whether the impact of television on the social pattern of the family is not an important contributor to the behavior problems that concern us. What about watching television instead of reading, playing imaginative games, building things or doing things actively? What happens when the family is segregated in separate rooms with no potential for interaction between parents and children? I am not suggesting that there is "experimental" evidence on this question, but there is certainly good reason to be worried about these possibilities. To be scientific "purists" when that purism serves to protect the commercial interests of television seems an inadequate response of social scientists.

Finally, whether or not what is being shown has evil effects, the committee should have concerned itself with what might be done positively on behalf of children and of adults by creative and stimulating content on television. In a small way, Sesame Street and the Electric Company have shown what television can do in a very limited sphere. Suppose one considered the same responsibility for helping people to confront and deal with life's real issues as being laid upon the industry for all age groups? What grade would the industry get for what it has done up to now?

Frankly, I do not think violence on television is either the only or necessarily the major reason for violence in American society. The violence on television is in many ways only a pale imitation of the violence in national life. The cruelties of the war in Vietnam, the inhumanity of starvation in a country of affluence, the pervasive effect of racism in all sectors of our life and the failure of moral nerve in our national leadership, all seem to me much more significant. But just because our national waters are polluted by other sources is no justification for permitting television to add further contamination.

A number of the members of the Surgeon General's committee are known to me personally to be individuals of high integrity. I frankly do not understand how they could have signed their names to so equivocating a report. I hope that these comments prove useful to you.

Yours sincerely,

LEON EISENBERG, M.D.

Senator PASTORE. We now call upon the Surgeon General.

Dr. Steinfeld, we welcome you here today and we await with great anticipation to hear what your observations are. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. JESSE L. STEINFELD, SURGEON GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Dr. STEINFELD. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a pleasure to appear before you this morning to discuss the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee Report on Television and Social Behavior and its implications for the American people and the American television broadcasting industry. Because there has been some public misunderstanding of the report, I hope to be able to clarify the record on what the report actually says and how the Advisory Committee arrived at its conclusions.

Let me begin, Mr. Chairman, by answering your request made when I appeared before your committee September 28, 1971. You said:

> I would hope that the Surgeon General in due time will come before this Committee, not with a lot of if's and but's but will tell us in simple language whether or not the broadcasters ought to be put on notice and be very, very careful in this area because it might have an effect on certain people.

After review of the committee's report and the five volumes of original research undertaken at your request, as well as a review of the previous literature on the subject, my professional response today is that the broadcasters should be put on notice. The overwhelming consensus and the unanimous Scientific Advisory Committee's report indicates that televised violence, indeed, does have an adverse effect on certain members of our society.

While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action. The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come.

I would also emphasize that no action in this social area is a form of action: it is an acquiesence in the continuation of the present level of televised violence entering American homes.

In stating this casual relationship it is important to keep in mind that antisocial behavior existed in our society long before television appeared. We must be careful not to make television programing the whipping boy for all of society's ills. Yet we must take whatever actions we can, when we do identify factors contributing to antisocial behavior in our society.

While the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has no regulatory responsibility in the field of communications, it does, however, have a responsibility for both the mental health and the education of our citizens. The Department stands ready to assist those Federal and other governmental or voluntary agencies concerned with television programing by providing scientific information and advice as appropriate. I am certain that members of the Federal Communications Commission, members of the academic community, other legislators, and members of the broadcasting industry will have suggestions both as to how to achieve a reduction of televised violence in programing, as well as suggestions for television content designed to induce prosocial behavior.

Mr. Chairman, let me turn now to the report and its conclusions and the composition of the Advisory Committee. The Committee selection and operation was modeled after the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health set up some 10 years ago. At that time, because it was possible that the report on smoking might be unfavorable to the tobacco industry, that industry was given an opportunity to indicate which scientists (from a list of experts in the field) were considered to have already made up their minds that smoking was injurious to health. At the same time, scientists who felt that smoking was proven not to be harmful to health were similarly not chosen for service on the Smoking and Health Scientific Advisory Committee.

In the instance of the Television and Violence Advisory Committee, Surgeon General Stewart, approximately three years ago, submitted a list of names of 40 distinguished social scientists to the three networks and to the National Association of Broadcasters, inquiring whether the industry felt that any of the scientists had already determined that there was a link between televised violence and subsequent anti-social behavior. In response, two of the networks and the National Association of Broadcasters listed seven individuals. None of the seven was chosen for service on the Surgeon General's committee. Unfortunately, the American Psychological Association, Psychiatric Association, and other academic groups were not polled similarly and asked whether or not certain of the 40 scientists felt that televised violence had no effect or a pro-social effect on the viewers. But in any event, in the final choice of the 12 scientists for the Committee there were two industry representatives, one former television industry employee, and two consultants to one of the networks. Industry members were chosen since Surgeon General Stewart felt network cooperation in production of pilot films would be very useful to the Committee and its researchers.

The Committee itself commented on this selection procedure in their report, and I must say I agree with their comments. A Committee such as this, like Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion but it is extremely important to point out that this Scientific Advisory Committee, despite the complexity in the social science area, has filed a unanimous report. It is significant to me that scientists from widely different backgrounds such a psychology, sociology, political science, anthropology, psychiatry, and child development have filed a unanimous report. If one were to bring together another group of distinguished scientists of as diverse a background as this Committee, I doubt that they wold have filed a significantly different report—it if were to be a unanimous report.

Any one of the scientists might have written a somewhat stronger or a somewhat weaker report depending upon his view of the evidence. But the strength here lies both in the unanimity of the report, and in the knowledge that these social scientists are careful scientists and are unwilling to go beyond what the hard scientific data permit.

Senator PASTORE. Doctor, of course there have been various interpretations of this report by the news media. I have read headlines that stated unequivocably that there is a causal effect between violence on television and the aggressive behavior of young children. Then, I have read other headlines that said the Advisory Committee submitted a whitewash on this subject. Now, in very simply language, will you tell me if this report by the Advisory Committee contains enough evidence and states there is a causal effect?

Dr. STEINFELD. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I think the Committee report contains sufficient data to justify action and I believe that many of the people who have been writing about the report, not being social scientists, have misinterpreted what the members of the committee intended. And, I believe this will become apparent when you hear testimony from the members of the committee.

Senator Pastore. All right, sir.

Dr. Steinfeld. Certainly my interpretation is that there is a causative relationship between televised violence and subsequent antisocial behavior, and that the evidence is strong enough that it requires some action on the part of responsible authorities, the TV industry, the Government, the citizens.

Senator Pastore. You may proceed.

Dr. Steinfeld. Thank you.

The Scientific Advisory Committee itself did not conduct research. The research was conducted by independent scientists, whose programs had a scientific review similar to that of other National Institute of Mental Health contractors. The scientists' work published in the five volumes was not edited or screened by the Scientific Advisory Committee prior to publication. The Scientific Advisory Committee did review and did discuss both the original work reported in these five volumes and all other pertinent previously published research and data in this field prior to writing their unanimous report to me.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the most constructive thing that we can do after accepting the findings of this distinguished group is to act upon its findings in a way that is beneficial to our children and our society. Let me quote from the Committee Report what I believe to be the most significant findings.

> . . . the data, while not wholly consistent or conclusive, do indicate that a modest relationship exists between the viewing of violence and aggressive behavior. The correlational evidence from surveys is amenable to either of two interpretations: that the viewing of violence causes the aggressive behavior, or that both the viewing and the aggression are joint products of some other common source. Several findings of survey studies can be cited to sustain the hypothesis that viewing of violent television has a causal relation to aggressive behavior ,though neither individually nor collectively are the findings conclusive. They could also be explained by operation of a "third variable" related to preexisting conditions.
>
> The experimental evidence does not suffer from the ambiguities that characterize the correlational data with regard to third variables, since children in the experiments are assigned in ways that attempt to control such variables. The experimental findings are weak in various other ways and not wholly consistent from one study to another. Nevertheless, they provide suggestive evidence in favor of the interpretation that viewing violence on television is conducive to an increase in aggressive behavior, although it must be emphasized that the causal sequence is very likely applicable only to some children who are predisposed in this direction.

I would add parenthetically that television can cause the predisposition, the child need not come with the predisposition.

> Thus, there is a convergence of the fairly substantial experimental evidence for short-run causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and the much less certain evidence from field studies that extensive violence viewing precedes some long-run manifestations of aggressive behavior. This convergence of the two types of evidence constitutes some preliminary indication of a causal relationship, but a good deal of research remains to be done before one can have confidence in these conclusions.
>
> Thus, the two sets of findings converge in three respects: a preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior; an indication that any such causal relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive); and an indication that it operates only in some environmental contexts. Such tentative and limited conclusions are not very satisfying. They represent substantially more knowledge than we had two years ago, but they leave many questions unanswered.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that you, in requesting the formation of this committee, and the committee members have provided a valuable service to our society. I believe that this report represents a significant step forward. These conclusions are based on solid scientific data and not on the opinion of one or another scientist. I believe further that the research reported in these five volumes, the Scientific Advisory Committee's deliberations, and this subcommittee's hearings will provide a stimulus to other social scientists to build on the solid foundation which has now been erected in this important field of communication.

Senator PASTORE. You, Dr. Steinfeld, as the chief health officer of the United States of America, have said:

> The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come.

That is your unequivocal opinion?

Dr. STEINFELD. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. And you reached that opinion from this report?

Dr. STEINFELD. From this report, the five volumes, and other reading and attendance at a number of meetings.

Senator PASTORE. Have you any further recommendations, Doctor?

Dr. STEINFELD. You mean specific recommendations?

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Dr. STEINFELD. There are a number of alternatives, Mr. Chairman, in this extremely complex field.

It seems to me that whatever we do, we must keep in mind the First Amendment and the problems that might accrue from any attempt at censorship. Yet, there is a wide spectrum of actions which could be taken, all of the way from the writing and producing and editing of television programs, through the use of the code we have, or a modified code, through the scheduling of TV programming on the air, and the actual viewing in the home, because some of the significant research showed that when parents watch television with their children, they significantly influence what the child learns and what the child's subsequent behavior pattern might be.

I think I could put in guidelines, perhaps, in a better context if I would review very quickly, and briefly, what I think are the most significant findings to come out of the five volumes of research.

Senator PASTORE. I would hope you would do that.

Dr. STEINFELD. I will be very brief.

First of all, the research has shown that television is pervasive, it is present in almost every American home, 95 to 98 percent.

Second, with respect to children, even before they reach the age of 3 years, they become selective viewers and can identify certain of the characters on the screen.

Third, they gain an enormous vicarious experience by having television in their homes, something that no other generation in the history of man has ever attained. They see many things that no other generation have ever seen before.

But, fourth, when they are very young, they can't distinguish fancy from reality, they see each individual incident as an isolated incident, and therefore they see the violence incident isolated from the context in which it occurs.

It is only later when they are more mature that they can distinguish these.

Fifth, parental guidance, parental communications patterns, when they watch TV with the children, they can significantly influence what the child learns in addition to what he sees.

Of course, if they watch with the child, they can determine which programs the children watch.

Sixth, and most important here, is that there has been shown to be a caustive relationship between viewing violence on TV and subsequent behavior. And I think it is not important to argue whether the number is 10 percent or 20 percent or 30 percent. We have a large population, and if 10 percent of 20 million children become aggressive and engage in antisocial acts, that is far too many.

Senator PASTORE. That is the impression I got from the report, Doctor. They keep using this word uniformly. And I wondered what that meant, whether they meant everybody or 5 percent, or 10 percent, or 1, 2—I mean, that was never clear.

Dr. STEINFELD. Well, I think certainly in medicine, and in all biologic phenomena, there is no such thing as a uniform response. Everybody who is exposed to a tubercle bacillus does not develop tuberculosis. There is no such thing.

The only certain things in life are death, and I guess taxes, for the United States. But, this does not distress me. I think the research shows that a significant number, as far as I am concerned, of children, can be adversely affected, and, therefore, it requires that we do something.

There are a few more, three or four more significant findings that I felt and I think the committee members might choose others. Another one is that unlike TV viewing in the late forties, television viewing is not an all or none phenomenon. We tend to do other things while we watch TV, whether it is eat popcorn, look at books, play games, or engage in family discussions. So that TV is not center stage.

Another significant phenomenon, as Congressman Murphy said, is that the violence content is high, it has really not changed significantly and it is highest of all in the cartoon children programs.

Finally, children watch adult television programing. We cannot talk just about children's programs alone, when we talk about the effects of programing on our children. Children spend more of their time watching adult types of programing than they do children types.

So that any actions that the networks take, or that you might recommend, it seems to me would have to apply to all types of programing, rather than just to children's programing, unless, of course, one schedules certain kinds of very violent programing at a very late hour, as is done in some countries.

Senator PASTORE. Does this necessarily mean the elimination, absolutely, of all violence on television?

Dr. STEINFELD. No, I don't think so at all.

Senator PASTORE. I mean that is the extreme position taken by some people.

I have read some of the professional periodicals. *Variety*, for example, where the lament is that this committee is trying to influence the broadcasting industry and the writing of these shows. To put something on the air that is blase or bland, I think that is the word they used, bland.

And that is furthest away from the thoughts of this committee. We are not talking about that. We are talking about violence for the sake of violence. Violence in order to get more advertising, violence in order to get more viewers.

There is a significant statement in that report that apparently the violence increases according to the ratings. So, if we are getting violence for the sake of profit, it is something that should be immediately eliminated.

On the other hand, of course, there is a subtle way of telling a story. We have gone through that here before. It makes a lot of difference whether or not you focus your camera right over the body of an individual who has just been hit by an automobile; or whether you give that impression by getting it off at a distance and the public understands the person was killed by an automobile accident.

It all depends on how gory you want to make a particular scene. And sometimes for the sake of profit, I think it becomes a little too gory. That has been my complaint right along.

Dr. STEINFELD. I think one of the other significant findings I did not mention is that most of the violence we see on television is sanitized. We don't see the consequences, we don't see the family bereavements, we don't see childless parents, or parentless children growing up. We don't see the blood.

And violence takes place in faraway countries, in distant times, not at home.

Senator COOK. But, Doctor, that is because they have only got 30 minutes. I mean, let's be fair about it. You don't see the consequences because you haven't got the time.

Dr. STEINFELD. That is one of the factors that I think is worthy of discussion, the technique of programing, which I think would bear some further discussion.

Let me suggest a few guidelines, if I may, across the broad spectrum, beginning with the family. As a result of this report, Mr. Chairman, I have talked with Dr. Ed Zigler, of the Office of Child Development in HEW, and he has informed me that within the next 2 or 3 months, HEW will publish a book for parents on how to watch television, how to get more out of television, how to utilize it appropriately for professional behavior with their children.

I think this will be very useful. We have books on many other things. We spend a lot of time and effort on education, but we spend very little on utilizing television in a positive way. I think this will be useful.

One of the points that I would hope is that we would have a shared responsibility for doing something about this problem, networks, voluntary organizations, parents, government, FCC, the Congress. I think it would be useful if we had a rating system for violence.

If the parents knew at the time a program was coming on that—I don't know whether it would be a scale of zero to 10 or just how—but if they knew a program was going to be very violent, they might suggest that their child watch another program.

Now the John and Mary Markel and Russell Sage Foundations have indicated an interest in spearheading a group to both develop a useful rating system which then could be used, I would say, by a number of groups. It could be used by parents in guiding their children, it could be used by those of us who are consumers.

If we felt particularly upset about a particular program or series of programs that one sponsor might have, where he had much more violence than others, we might, or stockholders might take action in this regard, and although I don't want to suggest regulation, the FCC might look at stations in terms of the violent content of the programing they put on.

This would be, it seems to me, extremely important for long-range activities, because what we have been doing is we have been working in fits and starts. We have a group that looks at violence on television, and then we stop.

What we need, it seems to me, are some long-range indicators, social indicators, not only of the level of violence on TV, but of some prosocial activities, so that we can better use the TV in the future, particularly as we move into cable TV and cassette TV.

Long-range research, continued research, with feedback would be extremely important in this regard.

I think the report which you have commissioned served a very useful purpose, and as in the case of marihuana, alcohol, and smoking, there is an annual report to Congress which each year focuses on the subject, provides visibility, provides continuity, keeps the research up to date, provides information both to those who write and those who use television.

I think this might be a useful tool for the future. I certainly believe a review of the code, how it is working and how it could work better, would be a useful thing to undertake.

It seems to me again not with Government involved, but with foundations and outside academicians, this could be very useful.

I mentioned the time at which programs are shown. I think this is particularly important for the independent stations which, unlike the networks, may show programs that have a high violence content at a time when children are watching, right after school, Saturday mornings. I think this should be looked at.

Finally, it seems to me we are using violence in our commercial programing frequently to bring people back after the commercial, something very exciting happens. We have a commercial, but we want to come back and see who is going to win the fight, or what happens to these cars that look like they are going to crash and so forth.

Of course, I don't like all of the commercials, so I would much prefer seeing them all at the beginning or end of the program, or all being shown between 7:30 and 8, or sometime in the evening or morning. But if, indeed, as some have suggested, violence is used as punctuation marks and violence is used to bring back the people after the commercials, it seems to me, as you pointed out, violence for the sake of violence, or violence to get people back after advertising, is inappropriate.

Those are some general thoughts. None of these are specific recommendations.

Senator PASTORE. Senator Cannon?

Senator CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to see that the Surgeon General is coming out with some firm conclusions at this point in time. And I would hope that he will be able to come up now with some firm recommendations as to specifics that ought to be undertaken where he points out that we need a cooperative effort, and everyone needs to get into the act to accomplish something.

Still, the thing that we need to know is more specifically the details of what we are going to try to accomplish and how it ought to be done.

I thank you for your statement, Doctor, I think it is very fine.

Dr. STEINFELD. Thank you, Senator.

Senator PASTORE. Senator Baker?

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, Dr. Steinfeld, I thank you for your summary, as well as your testimony.

I agree with Senator Cannon that the time is at hand when Congress and the administrative agencies, and, I expect, the networks, have to decide what we are going to do with this wealth of information; some of it tentative, some definitive, some of it inconclusive.

But, there is one thing we don't need to wait on, and that, is your willingness to testify today that in your judgment based on the best available information and the totality of your knowledge of this subject, that there is some sort of causal connection between aggressive behavior on the part of children and violence on television.

It is very helpful.

But, tell me, if you were a parent—and I think you are a parent—in the meantime, while the Congress and the courts and the administrative agencies are deciding what ought to be done, what would you, as a parent do, with respect to this causal connection you described, as it relates to your children?

Dr. STEINFELD. Well, we actually do determine, to some extent, what our children watch on television, and many parents do, many parents do not.

It seems to me that this is something that the parents can do immediately, that is, he can both begin spending more time watching television with his children, and really interdicting some of the most violent programs.

I do want to say aggression——

Senator BAKER. If your children are like mine used to be, trying to interdict some of those programs can get pretty violent, too.

Dr. STEINFELD. I have three girls. I understand boys are different than girls, but it is easier with girls.

Senator BAKER. There is the equal rights amendment, you know.

Dr. STEINFELD. Well, they are smaller, in any event.

Senator BAKER. You mentioned that the effect of violence on television may vary somewhat according to how much the program was watched. You also mentioned the fact that whether the parents watch or don't watch might have some impact.

Would you care to elaborate on that?

Dr. STEINFELD. I think if the parents watch the program with the child, and point out the undesirable consequences, he may unsanitize the sanitized violence.

I must say, parentheticaly, that when I went to medical school in Cleveland and saw people come in as a result of automobile accidents, I became extremely impressed with what indiscretion could do while one is driving a car. And I think the person who drinks and drives, and who feels immortal, very few of these people have ever worked in an emergency room and have seen the mayhem that occurs.

I think the parents can point out the undesirable consequences of violent action, the parents can emphasize the pro-social aspects of television.

It is important, it seems to me, that when kids watch TV they learn aggressive behavior. They may not immediately use it but in some of the studies supported by this program, when the children were offered a reward for reproducing behavior that they didn't reproduce spontaneously aggressive behavior. So they learn by watching TV, and whether or not they reproduce it depends on all of society.

Senator BAKER. I don't mean to be overly technical, but isn't that generally the case with the totality of life experience? It is not a question of really what you perceive, but how you control it, or what you do with it.

Dr. STEINFIELD. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. Are you in a position to say that television provides a substantial modicum of additional aggressive inputs, so it does affect your perception of violence, your evaluation of violence and your likelihood to reenact violence in an anti-social way?

Dr. STEINFELD. I think the committee put it better than I can, and they were expert social scientists, and I think they qualified this to a particular context, and a particular subgroup.

What we have not emphasized as much as I think we ought to, or I haven't, although the social scientists have, are the professional uses of TV. The heavy viewer of television as a child, increases his vocabularly sensationally in the early years, as compared to a child that does not have TV available.

But then the problem switches. The heavy viewer in high school or college, tends to be not as bright, tends not to be the kind of person who goes ahead into the professions and so forth.

Somewhere we are losing, because it seems to me television should be similar to books. There ought to be enough stimulating intellectual fare at all times, to be useful to all ages. And I think this is where there is a great deal to be done, professional uses of television.

And this is the other reason I think we need a shared approach to trying to do something about it, and look at violence on TV as part of a larger context.

Senator BAKER. I will ask only one other series of questions and then thank you very much for your enlightening testimony. I think very clearly the information you have given us is useful. And just as clearly a unanimous report issued by any group on this complicated subject will necessarily be incomplete and tentative. And that by becoming less than unanimous, you can be more precise, but probably more speculative at the same time.

By limiting ourselves to that central area where we can probably be unanimous in our views of the casual relationship between violence and behavior, can you recommend any particular action on the part of the Congress, the administrative agencies, or the networks, by way of law or regulation?

Dr. STEINFELD. Well, Senator, I would be getting out of my field if I moved into any specific recommendations. I think once the scientific community establishes a relationship and gets as specific as it can about some of the phenomena that occur, then it seems to me we turn to regulatory bodies, perhaps those who write broadcasters and other groups.

So I don't, I would not feel competent to make specific recommendations other than those broad guidelines I indicated earlier.

Senator BAKER. I agree with you, Doctor, that it is primarily the function of this subcommittee to translate your scientific advice and observations into legislative language, if any. And it is the function of the administrative agencies, in this case, the Federal Communications Commission, to hear and understand the best scientific opinion and translate it into policy. But I hope you will forgive me for wondering if this distinguished scientist who appears before us could venture an estimate of any particular action that should be undertaken, other than, as I understand it, watching television with your children which might be classified as unconstitutional, cruel, and inhuman conduct.

Dr. STEINFELD. Well, there were a broad range of suggestions which include setting up a foundation to monitor and publish the violence ratings and other ratings on TV and much more aggressive interpretation or utilization of the code, timing, looking at independent stations, consideration by those who purchase time, the advertisers, looking at TV specifically to see if violence is used as punctuation or to get people back after the commercials, rather than being needed for a particular story. There are a lot of things, I think.

Senator BAKER. I will conclude now, with apologies to the committee and to you for taking so much time, with this one thought. I wonder if it might be productive to study the effects of emotional violence as distinguished from physical violence and see if there is a correlation. Does physical violence create emotional trauma?

Dr. STEINFELD. I think that television has absolutely a great deal to do with both the emotional development of our children and the fact that we will accept certain kinds of action, because we become inured to them by watching these things on TV. So I think this is extremely important.

Senator BAKER. Thank you.

Senator PASTORE. Senator Stevens.

Senator STEVENS. Could you tell me, won't this rating system have an adverse impact? I think we are all familiar with the ratings on movies, and it seems to be almost the thing to do to advertise that it has been rated—give it the worst rating and you have the longest lines waiting to get into the movie house. Wouldn't it work adversely as far as children are concerned, if we tell them this is the most violent thing you can watch today, aren't they going to turn it on?

Dr. STEINFELD. I think that is conceivable. I think the long-run effects, Senator Stevens, might be to have the writers, producers, networks, stations, and advertisers much more aware of what it is they are writing, producing, buying, and showing, and it would, it seems to me, be very useful to the Congress to know whether a particular network or station or advertiser or producer is producing extremely violent programs. I think it could have a salutary effect. It seems to me if we look at the report as a building block, that there will be additional information developed and if we look at what we do as a process rather than an end in itself, continually modifying it, perhaps we may find it isn't useful, as you suggest, it may be counter-productive. But at the moment, we don't really have a system for determining longitudinally what has been happening on TV. Even the ratings we have are based on intensive studies of single weeks of network programing in the fall of a particular year.

I should point out that rather than have somebody view these after the fact, one could require that the producer of a particular program follow the guidelines and rate it prior to the time it is actually shown.

Senator STEVENS. That is what I mean. If you rate it prior to the time it is shown, I am sure that most people will look at it and say, "Well, this ought to be a good one; I will turn this one on." You indicate that ratings produce violence; I would say the other way around: the more violent programs, the higher the rating under the current system. It is just like the pornography movies; strangely enough, they are the ones that are making the money. You can say that is bad, but it just means to me that that is what the people want to see, unfortunately.

Dr. STEINFELD. I am out of my field, certainly, in that area, too. But it is my understanding that they are falling on hard times in the pornography business in this country and certainly in Denmark, it has come out of season with the tourists. But what you say is absolutely true; we don't know, and this is a suggestion that I think bears exploration. It may be one that you would reject. But I think one could explore it somewhat further and try to determine what utility it might have, not only to parents, but to the whole stream of people I mentioned, including the regulatory bodies.

Senator STEVENS. Does this report cover the sports coverage by TV?

Dr. STEINFELD. Sports and news programs were not examined. The report looked at the entertainment programs only. The committee discussed whether or not they should review news programing and felt they would be infringing, moving into the First Amendment area, and they decided they would rather not do that. I should say also that the committee itself made no recommendations because in its charge to the committee, Secretary Robert Finch indicated he wanted them, in line with Senator Pastore's letter, to try to establish whether or not there was a causal relationship between TV violence and subsequent antisocial behavior, but not to make recommendations, since HEW has no regulatory responsibility, nor does it seek any, in this area.

Senator STEVENS. Was there any similar study of the relationship of violence in movies in the thirties to the behavior of the generation of that time?

Dr. STEINFELD. There have been repeated studies of violence in the movies and elsewhere, and in fact one of the, or several of the studies here looked at news magazines, newspapers, radio, as well as TV, in terms of coverage to see what proportion was given over to violence. There is no question that violence occurs in our daily lives and there is no question that in growing up children must learn both how to handle aggression and when to be aggressive. So there is a positive aspect to violence and learning aggressive behavior. Not antisocial, but aggressive behavior. And it is in this whole complex matrix that we have got to, it seems to me, try to weave a more pro-social material into our TV programs and less antisocial material.

Senator STEVENS. I share Senator Cannon's comment and hope that there will be some recommendations forthcoming as to how we might do that. It would seem to me that we are going into a very delicate field if we are to begin to somehow censor the programming on television. We are about in the same place we were when we started banning advertising of smoking on radio and TV, and the net result is increased advertising in other media that we cannot control because of the First Amendment. If it is right, it is right. If it is wrong, it is wrong. But it seems to me there is a question of governmental effectiveness in the total field and I am not certain that we can bring about any effectiveness in this total field.

Mr. STEINFELD. Senator Stevens, I certainly don't think the government ought to censor TV programming. I think the next step is to hear what the FCC recomendations are and what the networks propose to do voluntarily, what the foundations may propose. I think there are many things that can be done, far short of censorship that would be useful.

Senator STEVENS. Did you explore the Public Broadcasting System and the effect of any of their programming as a counter-balance to violent programming on the networks?

Dr. STEINFELD. Their programming is the kind that we would like to see more of, certainly, because there are pro-social programs which are quite effective on public broadcasting.

Senator STEVENS. I think I have seen some pretty violent programs on public broadcasting, too. That is why I asked the question.

Dr. STEINFELD. I think there is a place for violence when it is appropriate. But I think it would be a very bland world and unreal if we banned violence from the TV screens and had our children really living in what would be a never-never land, at least when they watched television. So I wouldn't propose that, either.

Senator STEVENS. Are you suggesting that we should become one-television set families again so that the children will watch what we watch, or we have to watch what they watch?

Dr. STEINFELD. No, sir; and I am also not suggesting a plaque, "The Surgeon General has determined that watching television is harmful to your health," or something. I won't suggest that, either.

Senator STEVENS. Thank you.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I had one other matter on "X" rated or "R" rated movies. When I was questioning the Surgeon General, I meant to ask you, Mr. Chairman, if I might include as a part of the record, a letter from Dr. Charles A. Trentham, of the Southern Baptist Convention, a resolution adopted by the Christian Life Commission, and a briefing paper and other items in connection with that resolution.

Senator PASTORE. At the conclusion of the Surgeon General's testimony, yes. I think that is a contribution to the record. [Matter referred to appears at pp. 40–43.]

Senator Cook?

Senator COOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Doctor, what bothers me is that you said there really should not be any recommendations coming forth from you, but yet here are five volumes and the report that was made to you. I am told that it cost somewhere in the vicinity of $2 million to have this study made. If, in fact, the government is going to select a committee and if, in fact, we are going to spend $2 million of the people's money of this country and not come up with recommendations, even if they are recommendations that we sit down with the networks and try to work out a system, are we really doing our job?

Dr. STEINFELD. I believe, Senator, you will have recommendations by the time you finish the hearings. I don't think there is any question about that.

Senator COOK. But we are going to have to come up with the recommendations based on these five volumes, not the committee that requested them, not the committee that had all of the meetings, or that mulled over all of the reports as they came in. This is where the field of advice is. We are getting this field of advice as we run back and forth to vote on an amendment on a bill that is pending. Whether we can get to another committee hearing in another hour, we are going to catch as catch can. That wasn't the basis on which, I hope, all of these five volumes were prepared.

Dr. STEINFELD. I think—I don't have Secretary Finch's original letter to the committee with me, but he specifically enjoined the committee from making recommendations as a committee. And HEW has a responsibility, certainly, for the education of the citizens of this country and for the mental health of the citizens of this country. But I do think it would be inappropriate if we began making recommendations that more appropriately would come from the FCC. It is my understanding that Chairman Burch, having read these reports and discussed them with his staff, will be making recommendations as I think is appropriate for him to make.

Senator COOK. As Surgeon General of the United States and the chief health officer, do you think this has an adverse health effect, mentally, physically, on the people of this country, and the children of this country?

Dr. STEINFELD. I would go back to the carefully phrased language of the committee, and say yes, for certain subgroups in certain contexts.

Senator COOK. Do you wish to give up that authority to the Federal Communications Commission to make that determination and tell you how you should look after their health?

Dr. STEINFELD. No; I don't think I have given up any authority, Senator Cook. I think I have tried to do the job that I am supposed to do without intruding in another area.

Senator COOK. Let me say to you, I am not sure that in regard to making these recommendations, that basically you may not have any of that authority. But I am just wondering whether you feel compelled to make them if this report has been this extensive and cost this much money, that we then throw it in front of the committee and say, now you asked for it, you do as you please. You see, I am sitting here with a kind of grin on my face and I think you know why. I come from a State that grows more burley tobacco than any other State in the country and I am not sitting with the industry we worked with a couple of years ago, which told us how to handle advertising, and told us how we had to prolong this great loss of revenue, how we had to solve these problems and now they are in trouble. I don't think there is any major tobacco manufacturer in the country that will come to their aid or assistance. I am just wondering whether you are going to do the same thing to them that you did to the tobacco industry and that is if you set up a committee to make a subjective or objective report to the Congress every year on violence on television, that that is going to be the same committee that is going to monitor violence.

Because I think if this is the case, then I don't think Congress is going to get a very good overview.

Dr. Steinfeld. Well, I think what ultimately will come, of course, you will determine as a result of the rest of the hearing——

Senator Pastore. Would the Senator yield for a moment? I think I should give the predicate for all of this, because I am the one who wrote the letter. This matter of violence on television has been a matter of concern to this committee for a long time. We also realized the limitations on us because of the first amendment, and because of the Communications Act of 1934, prohibiting censorship. We were very specific on that. The question arose because of the conflict within our society as to whether or not violence on television did or did not affect children. I felt the time had come to make a scientific study so that we could determine scientifically whether or not it did. And that is where this all started. And that is the point where we are now.

Now on this question of recommendations, there may be several avenues open to us. I don't think we ought to explore them with the first witness; I think we ought to listen to all of the witnesses, all of the agencies; we can call any of them back if we wish. It might be by persuading the industry; it might have to be through some agreement and negotiation with reference to some impartial agency that would give a violence rating to programs. Before a program was shown, it would be previewed with the consent of the industry—as they have done in the movie industry independently and a rating given it.

All of this is a little bit in the future. But I want it clearly understood that while this did cost a lot of money, it is the first time in this particular area that such a scientific study has been made. I would hope that it will achieve a productive result.

Senator Cook. Mr. Chairman, let me make it clear. I think you are exactly right. I think [illegible] will reach a productive result. Relative to the remarks you have just make, let me say first of all I don't see how you can utilize the rather nice word preview of programs and not consider that if one previews a program before it goes on, that that doesn't constitute censorship. When we talk about violence, Mr. Chairman, on television, I wish all of a sudden that we would not come up with a far-reaching indictment that this is the first time this has occurred. I remember as a youngster every Saturday afternoon the Lone Ranger was always on the edge of that precipice and you had to come back next Saturday and that meant you had to come back to the matinee the next Saturday or the next Saturday. Tarzan was always ready to swim into all of the alligators or someone was ready to shoot somebody running down the mountain side and that was several, several, several years ago.

Senator Pastore. That is right. I don't question that. I have seen some of those pictures myself.

Senator Cook. And relative to the doctor's remarks, I might say that you didn't want to get into news programs because of the first amendment, I can only say to you that somebody said to me on a

Sunday morning, "Did you see the Minnesota-Ohio State basketball game yesterday?" I didn't have to see it. I saw that series of films so many times thereafter in the weeks after the fight in the Minnesota-Ohio State basketball game that it even got so good that one good sports announcer finally said, "Now, hold it right there, because the next one is where the knee to the groin is going to be and I want you to watch it." Maybe it won't take too much to find out who that sportscaster was.

The point I am trying to make is here was a film that was taken and it was utilized at least for 10 days or two weeks, and it wasn't because they wanted to show whether Minnesota beat Ohio State; as a matter of fact, they don't show much of the game, they didn't show any of it.

So I can only say to you that I think this is a problem that it is all right, maybe, that you didn't take it into consideration in your report, but it may be all right for this committee to take up, but I must say to you only on the basis that this committee sit down with a major industry in this country and say, "Hey, we have problems and we need your help." And I would rather put it on this basis, Doctor, than put it on the basis you did a short time ago when you said maybe we ought to advise them of the authority of the FCC, and maybe we ought to advise them of what this or that institution can do. Because I must confess to you, I think that is kind of a backhanded threat and if we are going to threaten anybody, maybe it ought to be out in front where anybody can take a look at it and see it.

Dr. STEINFELD. I tried to preface my remarks by saying that I think whatever is done should be done in a cooperative way with industry, working with the government, volunteer groups and citizen groups. I would hope that this is the way. But it does seem to me that so far we have not been successful, that is the industry has not really reduced the level of violence on television and the industry has not come up with a large number of programs designed to induce prosocial behavior in children. I think this is where we are now and I think this is what your committee in sitting down with the industry will work toward correcting.

Senator COOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PASTORE. Any further questions?

We want to thank you very much. And I would hope that somehow you can continue your interests in these hearings. I don't know how much time you can devote to it, but I would hope you will follow the record and if there is anything further you want to add, Doctor, we would appreciate it very much.

Dr. STEINFELD. Thank you, Senator. I think Dr. Rubinstein is here.

Senator PASTORE. Yes, we will hear from him now.

(The documents referred to follow:)

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH,
Knoxville, Tenn., March 10, 1972.

Senator HOWARD H. BAKER, Jr.,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAKER: As Chairman of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, I would like to share with you the deep concern of our Commission that something be done to prevent the showing of X-rated movies on public television. Since the CBS Television Network announced the showing of "The Damned," a previously X-rated movie, there have been numerous letters protesting the entrance into our homes of this kind of movie.

Knowing you as I do, I felt that you would be an excellent champion for protecting the public interest by opposing morally offensive movies on television. I am enclosing a copy of our action in our Advisory Committee meeting on March 3, 1972 and other materials that may be helpful.

Wishing you all the best, I am

As ever,

CHARLES A. TRENTHAM,

Enclosure.

FROM THE SBC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION NO. 5

Whereas the Columbia Broadcasting System has announced the purchase of a large number of X and R-rated movies for imminent showing on late night television, and

Whereas the invasion of America's homes with profanity, vulgarity, adultery, incest, homosexuality, child molestation, nudity, and sadism represents a moral challenge of major proportions: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention hereby earnestly beseeches the Columbia Broadcasting System authorities and those of the other television networks to exercise moral vision and leadership in promptly reversing their decision to show these highly objectionable films on television and that Southern Baptists are hereby called on to support the CBS if it moves to reverse this decision; and be it further

Resolved, That we request the Christian Life Commission to give attention to this matter of concern to Baptists and other Christians, and to take all appropriate steps for implementation, including the possibility of legal action.

BRIEFING ON MAIN FACTS RELATED TO TELEVISION SHOWING OF OFFENSIVE MOVIES

(By Foy Valentine)

In the package of films were 167 movies which CBS purchased for showing on late night television.

Only one of the 167, according to Mr. Tom Swafford, CBS Vice President for Program Practices, was previously X-Rated; and it was cut some to clean it up some and shorten it some for television showing.

Although this movie, "The Damned," was the only one of the 167 package that had been previously X-Rated, CBS chose to show it at the front end of the package rather than in the middle or near the end. It was chosen to lead off the third week in the series.

Many CBS affiliates elected not to show the film which they considered still offensive even after editing.

Nine of the remaining 166 films were R-Rated: and of these, five have been rejected by CBS and, according to Mr. Swafford, the other four have not yet been previewed.

According to what we have been told, though no list of the 167 films has been provided even though it has been requested, it now appears that the resolution was in error in saying that "a large number of X and R-Rated movies" have been purchased for imminent showing on late night television.

CBS apparently has the option of rejecting films it considers unsuitable.

Local CBS affiliates clearly have the right to accept or reject such materials.

The response of morally sensitive people last week seems to us to have had some significant impact on both networks and local television stations.

A CALL FOR ACTION AGAINST MORALLY OFFENSIVE MOVIES ON TELEVISION

(Adopted by the Christian Life Commission's Advisory Committee, March 3, 1972)

Since the Columbia Broadcasting System has broken a barrier by releasing for the first time for showing on television an edited version of "The Damned," a previously X-rated movie, there is imminent danger that offensive movies may now be channelled more frequently into American homes. This danger is recognized by many who are concerned about the moral climate of our nation including CBS affiliate WBTV in Charlotte, North Carolina which refused to show "The Damned" and said in a televised editorial on February 28 and 29: "The CBS Television Network has undertaken to remove the very worst parts from the film, but enough remains to make the picture thoroughly unfit for home viewing . . . X-rated movies even partially cleaned up, are not the sort of thing that young people should be watching."

Programs which degrade sex, glorify violence, and deny moral decency have no place on the airwaves which belong to the people or in our homes which belong to God. We endorse network programing which provides wholesome entertainment, and we vigorously oppose programing which undermines moral standards without which no nation can long endure.

We call on Southern Baptists, and others concerned about television programing as well, to write to express appreciation to networks and sponsors for programs that are morally wholesome. We further urge the writing of letters and the exercise of selective buying to resist the showing of offensive movies on the television screen.

We also petition U.S. Senator John Pastore, chairman of the senate subcommittee on communications, to conduct a hearing to investigate the showing of morally offensive movies on television, and we request that the Christian Life Commission be given the opportunity to present testimony against the showing of these movies on the public airwaves.

We call on the Federal Communications Commission to do its duty to protect the public interest by prohibiting any television network's distribution of morally offensive movies.

We ask agencies that are Christian Life Commission counterparts in other denominations to join in opposition to offensive programing by enlisting their members to express themselves through letter writing and selective buying practices.

We declare ourselves in favor of a congressional bill to prohibit the showing of X and R-rated movies on television, and we pledge ourselves to work to secure its passage.

We call on state Christian Life Commission members and other interested individuals to communicate with local sponsors of offensive television movies to ask them to stop supporting such programs, and, if the sponsors refuse, to publish the names of these offending companies in newspaper ads.

TV's First X-Rated Movie Gets Late-Night Time Slot

(By Jerry Parker)

The day when an X-rated motion picture would find its way, via television, into the living rooms of Mr. and Mrs. Middle America was bound to come sooner or later; and now it is to happen very soon, indeed.

"The Damned," Luchino Visconti's critically acclaimed 1970 film about the downfall of a mighty German munitions family, is a part of the 167-film package the Columbia Broadcasting System has purchased for its late show, which will replace Merv Griffin Monday. "The Damned" is scheduled to be shown Feb. 28.

Many television and movie insiders will be watching with interest to see how television's relatively prudish moral code will be stretched to accommodate "The Damned," with its elements of transvestism, incest, homosexual orgy, child molestation, and nudity.

As one observer noted: "Only a few years ago, they wouldn't have even shown the title on the screen. It would have been 'CBS presents Luchino Visconti's 'The Bleeped.' "

"The Damned" that television viewers will see has been shortened by 25 minutes from the original 150-minute film. Most of the cuts, though, were made for length rather than content.

"There was only one explicit scene—the incest sequence—which caused the film to get an X (no one under 17 admitted) in the first place," a Warner Brothers spokesman, Ed Blier, said. "The massacre sequence also had to be trimmed to eliminate some of the violence."

Norman Nelson, the director of program practices for CBS (he does not like to be called the censor), watched a screening of the expurgated "Damned" and gave the go-ahead for the film to lead off the late show's third week.

Nelson already had approved for network showing "The Strawberry Statement," the MGM version of a campus rebellion which was rated R (no one under 17 admitted unless accompanied by parent of guardian) when it was released in 1970.

Probably the second most eyebrow-raising film in the package, "Strawberry" contained some nudity and a smattering of the strong language youthful revolutionaries have been known to employ. "We can make it work," said Nelson. "No big problem."

Other films in the package deal with delicate matters—clerical celibacy in "The Priest's Wife"; lesbianism in "Night of the Iguana," and there is a homosexual vampire in Roman Polanski's "The Fearless Vampire Killers," starring Sharon Tate.

"Overall, we know the rules are going to be liberalized," Nelson said. "People are more broad-minded than they were just a few years ago, and these movies will be shown at 11:30 p.m. instead of in prime time."

"We don't have to be so concerned about protecting childen on late-night programs," Nelson said. "Parents who allow their children to watch television at midnight have to bear some of that responsibility themselves."

WBT, WBTV AM–FM EDITORIAL

TV x X=0

BROADCAST DATE: P.M. FEBRUARY 28, 1972; A.M. FEBRUARY 29, 1972

If adults want to pay their money to see an X-rated movie in a theater, that's *their* business. But it is wrong, we believe, to thrust such movies into the homes of television viewers. It is even worse to expose children and teenagers to scenes of depravity which they are quite rightly barred from viewing in theaters.

This is why our company has rejected the showing on WBTV of the CBS Late Show film, "The Damned." This film, when shown in theaters, was rated X—for very good reasons. For although it may be a valid fictional treatment of German life under the Nazis, it also deals at considerable length with sex and sexual deviation in its most sordid forms. True, the CBS Television Network has undertaken to remove the very worst parts from the film, but enough remains to make the picture thoroughly unfit for home viewing.

Someone may ask: What harm can the film do, aired at 11:30 at night?" Plenty. Surveys show that 14% of the persons who watch these Late Shows on WBTV are under 18 years of age. Four percent are actually 12 years old or less. And X-rated movies, even partially cleaned up, are not the sort of thing that young people should be watching.

This station believes CBS had no business scheduling an X-rated film in the first place. Theaters, of course, have control over those to whom they sell tickets—and refuse to admit those under 18 for X-rated movies. Television has no box-office, and thus has no way of controlling the age of those who watch at home.

This company, then, will not risk contributing to the lowering of moral standards by airing X-rated movies—edited *or* unedited—over its facilities.

Invitation to respond has been sent to:

Mr. Robert D. Wood, President, CBS Television Network.

Senator PASTORE. Dr. Rubinstein, would you like to be accompanied by the members of the advisory committee?

STATEMENT OF DR. ELI RUBINSTEIN, VICE CHAIRMAN, SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR; ACCOMPANIED BY DR. HAROLD MENDELSOHN, PROFESSOR AND CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER; DR. CHARLES A. PINDERHUGHES, M.D., PROFESSOR PSYCHIATRY, BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE; DR. JOSEPH T. KLAPPER, DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.; DR. THOMAS E. COFFIN, VICE PRESIDENT IN CHARGE OF RESEARCH, NBC; DR. ALBERTA E. SIEGEL, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY; DR. ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY; AND DR. IRA H. CISIN, THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. Those who are here may come up.

Senator PASTORE. If there are any members of the advisory committee present, they are welcome to come forward.

First of all, I want to thank you all for your cooperation. It is a pleasure to have you here.

We are very, very much interested, of course, in what you have to say. I thought that Dr. Steinfeld should speak first so you would be in a better position to make your own observation to the committee.

The Chair will recognize Dr. Eli Rubinstein. At any point if anyone feels he or she can make a contribution, just interrupt, but identify yourselves as you do so.

Doctor, this is what I would like to know, and I hope that at sometime in your presentation you will explain it, just how did you get around to writing the 279-page report? I mean how was that done?

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. All right. I have a very brief comment to make, and then I will try to answer your question, if I may, Senator.

As you know, it has been my privilege to have been closely affiliated with this research program since its very inception, exactly three years ago.

In that period of time, I believe we have accomplished a great deal. The five volumes of research just published add 60 new technical reports to the scientific literature in the area of television and social behavior. That number becomes even more significant when you realize that the annotated bibliography we published last year had a total of less than 300 citations. With this program, we have increased the published literature by approximately 20 percent. I believe these studies will provide a major stimulus to additional research in this field.

More importantly, the scientific advisory committee has filed, as was already said, a unanimous report interpreting that extensive body of research. I want to stress the word interpreted, because the committee very carefully weighed all of the evidence and looked beyond the data and conclusions of the individual researchers in formulating and writing the report. Where that committee report may differ with the opinions and conclusions of the individual researchers, it does so after careful consideration of the basic research findings.

In an area as complex as this one on television and social behavior, there can be honest differences of opinion about the data. I should add that considering the total body of data, the general conclusions of the committee and the various researchers do not differ as much as some of the recent publicity about the committee report may seem to suggest.

I would also like to add that in my opinion, this committee has worked as conscientiously and as hard as any committee I have ever known. It is one of the few committees I have been privileged to serve on where every single member has made a significant contribution to the work of the committee and committee report.

Today we have with us seven members of the committee. They are here as individuals, since the Surgeon General's committee has been terminated upon the completion of its official task on December 31, 1971. However, they are here at your request, Senator Pastore, and they are prepared to make their individual statements.

Those that are here are Dr. Pool, Dr. Klapper, Dr. Siegel, Dr. Pinderhughes, Dr. Cisin, Dr. Coffin, and Dr. Mendelsohn. I think they might make their statements in that order, and we can call them again in that order.

Before Dr. Pool makes his statement, I would like to say that Miss Omwake, another member of the committee, had hoped to be here, but had an unfortunate automobile accident last Friday, and sends her regrets as being unable to attend.

Also I believe Dr. Anthony E. Wallace has sent you a letter indicating he cannot attend, and including some comments which you may wish for me to read now, or put into the record later. I think it is an important letter, because of Dr. Wallace's eminent position in his own field. He is a professor of anthropology and presently the president of the American Anthropological Association.

Senator PASTORE. I have the letter before me. It is dated March 13, and it will be inserted in the record.[2]

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. Thank you, Senator. If I may very briefly try to respond to your original question——

Senator PASTORE. Yes, if you will, please.

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. As I think is perfectly apparent now from the discussion here, and in previous testimony that was given and progress reports of this particular research, it has been long and complex and sometimes difficult area to investigate.

I think it is important to distinguish the manner in which the research studies themselves were sponsored and stimulated, and the manner in which the committee itself functioned.

As you know, the individual research studies were supported, stimulated, sought for from a variety of researchers in the field, all of the researchers who did research for us were given complete scientific freedom and independence to do the work as they saw fit. And that continued, as Dr. Steinfeld indicated, throughout the entire effort. As that work came to us, the committee then very carefully examined each of the individual reports.

On some occasions, some of the researchers actually came and met with the committee to explain how they viewed the progress of their individual pieces of research, what they intended to do if they came early in the game, what they found if they came later on in the development of their study.

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[2] The letter referred to appears at p. 88.

During all of this time, the committee continued to examine the total issue at a number of meetings at which they discussed both the variety of research undertaken, and the manner in which they were trying to write the report. As you know, there was a full-time staff made available to the committee from the National Institute of Mental Health, and I served as the vice chairman of the Advisory Committee, and also as the senior coordinator of all of the research that was accomplished.

The committee itself early this past summer set forth to its own task of trying to write the report. There was some staff assistance in the early development of the report, but ultimately this report, as it now stands, is a result of some very extensive, some very intensive, and often rather careful examination of all of the data, sometimes going back to the individual researchers to seek an additional point about something that was not completely clear in the report at that time.

The committee worked, as I indicated, very hard as a group. And I firmly believe that my own experience with committees makes me feel this committee has functioned extremely well as a group, and I feel very privileged to have been part of the operation.

The final report that you have is the result of the 12 members of the committee themselves.

Senator **Pastore**. Let me ask you a question, Dr. Rubinstein. You have heard the testimony of the Surgeon General and the conclusion he reached as an individual, and as a doctor. Do you agree with that conclusion?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. I do, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. Does anyone on the Advisory Committee disagree with it? If you do, please identify yourself and say so.

(No response.)

Senator **Pastore**. Not hearing anything, I suppose you agree with it.

Now, Dr. Rubinstein, did the members of the Advisory Committee actually participate in the writing of the report?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. Yes, sir, they did.

Senator **Pastore**. They wrote the report themselves?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. Yes, sir, they did.

Senator **Pastore**. I mean it was not a staff-written report?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. There were initial portions of it prepared in early drafts by some staff members, but the final report was written by the committee itself.

Senator **Pastore**. Did the staff write these drafts after the meetings held by the committee?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. Sometimes after, sometimes during.

Senator **Pastore**. But the final word and the authorship is attributable to the members of the Advisory Committee?

Dr. **Rubinstein**. Every single word in the first eight chapters of this report was gone over word by word by all of the members of the committee.

Senator **Pastore**. Now we have one of the most imposing group of scientists that have ever addressed this committee, and it would be an awful shame if we allowed any one of you to go away without saying something to us. So the committee would like to hear something from each of you. And it may be in whatever order you prescribe, Dr. Rubinstein. Just identify the individual, and if he will give us a little of his own background, and then proceed to tell us what he wants to.

Dr. **Rubinstein.** Let me repeat, Senator, that the order we have selected, for no particular reason, is for Dr. Pool to be first, Dr. Klapper, Dr. Siegel, Dr. Pinderhughes, Dr. Cisin, Dr. Coffin, and Dr. Mendelsohn. All are distinguished in their own right and hold important positions, and I leave it to them to describe their present affiliations.

Dr. Pool.

Dr. **Pool.** Thank you, Senator Pastore and Dr. Rubinstein.

I am Ithiel de Sola Pool. I am a professor of political sciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and my specialty is communications and public opinion.

I have a statement there, Senator Pastore, that I would like to have put in the record and I think I will not impose on you at length; I would like to summarize it.

Senator **Pastore.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Dr. **Pool.** Twelve scientists of widely different views unanimously agreed that scientific evidence indicates that the viewing of television violence by young people causes them to behave more aggressively.

That, in a one-sentence lead, is the significance of the Surgeon General's report. There are qualifications about amount, circumstances, and the certainty of that, as of any scientific conclusion. But news stories which focused on the qualifications rather than on the main conclusion have turned the report on its head.

The qualifications are important and the report did the right thing in stressing them. We who work as scientists are all too often dismayed at the way a small partial finding gets blown up and distorted in popular reporting. Someone finds that a drug reduces the incidence of some cancers in rats and popular magazines announce a cancer cure. We could have written a careless report and said without further qualification that "violence on TV leads to violence in our society." The next day people would have been misusing the report to justify censorship and to frighten parents.

What are the qualifications to the main finding?

One qualification concerns certainty. How good is the evidence?

It is pretty good, but not absolute. We described the evidence as a convergence of different kinds of evidence all pointing the same way; but no one piece of evidence is very strong.

Naturally some of the scientists who did those individual pieces on which we relied for our conclusion feel aggrieved. Each scientist would like to think that his study is conclusive and answers all questions. But 12 careful scholars found various flaws in each study. (Criticism, after all, is the heart of science.) But the convergence of the evidence was persuasive, and that is what we said.

A second qualification concerns circumstances.

Obviously, not every child who watches a violent show goes out and commits a crime. Nor does everyone who smokes a cigarette come down with lung cancer. That is neither a defense of smoking nor a defense of TV violence. If any significant number of people are hurt, it is too much.

But if the effect occurs only to some people under some circumstances then it is important to identify the circumstances in which the harmful effect occurs. That is what a lot of the report is about. That is also the area in which there is a need for a lot more research for we are still much in the dark about the facilitating circumstances.

For example, do parental restrictions on what the child watches do harm or good or some mixture of the two? We do not know. Chaffee and McLeod tried to explore aspects of this matter, but do not claim to have come up with an answer.

Does it help reduce adverse effects if the child understands well that the violence he sees is pure fantasy? Feshbach's study indicates that the answer is "Yes," but other studies make it clear that for the first 2 or 3 years that children watch television they are not able to make that distinction between fantasy and reality. So shows that may not bother older children confuse younger ones. The social problem is that the set in the living room is seen by both.

In our report we use the word predisposition to describe the state, whatever it may be, which makes a child susceptible to adverse effects from watching violent TV. To say that a child is predisposed is not to say there is anything wrong with him.

Blond people are more predisposed to sunburn than those of us whose skins are darker. Individuals differ.

Exactly the same TV diet will have one effect on one child and a different effect on another. Both kids may be perfectly healthy and normal. Our report has been misinterpreted as saying that violence on TV does not affect normal children. We did not say that and it is not true. We say that TV violence has harmful effects on predisposed children. We do not know just what makes for this predisposition, but there need be nothing abnormal about it.

The report has also been misquoted as saying that these predisposed children are a small number. We made no such statement. We said that we do not know how large the number is. It may be large. It may be small. That is an important question that deserves further study.

This issue of numbers is a complex one. Violence on TV is not an all or none matter.

First, the effects we are talking about are the effects of large amounts of violence, which is what broadcasters are offering their audience today.

Second, the number of children affected differs according to the kinds of effects one is talking about.

On page 10 of the report we point out that (1) experiments on imitation or learning from television show that "most" children are affected in that way, (2) experiments on inciting of aggressive behavior by television show that an indeterminately large "some" children are affected in that way, and (3) correlational field studies of long-term effects show "a small proportion of respondents" acting that way.

Thus words "small number" appear in our report only in regard to one of the three kinds of evidence that converge to show a causal relationship between TV viewing and aggressive behavior. For that kind of evidence, namely correlational field studies, it is correctly used.

While the experimental evidence of short-term effects rests upon fairly widespread reactions, the correlations in the survey data rests in each study on small numbers of cases at the extreme.

Dr. Lefkowitz has challenged that statement in our report as it applies to his study. Dr. Lefkowitz's study is a very important one to which our committee gave much attention in the report. Unfortunately, Dr. Lefkowitz's arithmetic is mistaken on this particular point as I have pointed out in a letter to him, a copy of which I append for the record.[3]

The important point is to correct the widespread impression that our report said that TV violence adversely affects on a "small" proportion of children.

What we said was that one of the three main kinds of evidence shows a relationship only among a "small" proportion and another kind of evidence shows it among "most." The discrepancy among the kinds of evidence left us unable to reach a reliable conclusion on numbers.

Whatever the numbers, if harm is being done, whether much or little, to some children, whether few or many, it is a matter to do something about.

Some defenders of contemporary television argue that everything in society that does good also does harm. Cars make pollution as well as providing transportation. Do violent TV programs also do some good? Perhaps one could argue that they provide entertainment. One could also argue that a play like Macbeth gives much of value to the viewer along with its violence. Unfortunately, not much of what is on the air can be defended that way.

More particularly, one major finding of our report is to rebut the notion that TV violence, as it is shown on the air today, has a so-called catharsis effect. It has been claimed in the past that watching TV violence might reduce aggressive behavior by the viewer because he got it out of his system. Ten years ago one could not have rejected that hypothesis. The evidence was not conclusive as to which way violence affected the viewer.

Today, on the basis of scientific research we can reject the catharsis hypothesis. If there is any kind of cathartic effect at all from contemporary TV it is swamped by the incitement effect.

What then should one do about the indication of harmful effects to some children, particularly younger ones, of a heavy diet of TV violence.

At this point I remove my hat as a scientist and as a member of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee and talk as a citizen. Too often scientists pontificate on public policy as if their science has given them answers when their answers come from their personal values. So let there be no confusion; I am talking as an ordinary citizen.

The problem is how to change the balance of what children watch without imposing censorship—which I as a civil libertarian adamantly oppose—and without depriving viewers of the right to enjoy the entertainment they choose.

There are two main strategies available. The first is to produce good shows to compete with the bad shows. The second is to raise the consciousness of parents, educators, the networks, and TV professionals about the consequences of the present TV fare.

Public broadcasting and in the future cable television increase the variety available to the TV viewer. But the pro-social, beneficial, program that tries to compete with big budget VHF sensational entertainment has a double handicap. First, it cannot use the simplest audience-building device that exists, namely bloody sensationalism. On top of that, the beneficial program usually has a tiny budget, so it probably ends up not even being a very good show of its own kind.

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[3] See p. 99 for the letter.

There is nothing the Congress can do about the basic human frailty that leads people to like sensationalism, but there is much the Congress can do to provide those doing constructive programming with the wherewithal to compete effectively for a larger share of the audience. Doubling or trebling the funds appropriated for educational and public television could make a real difference in the quality of American life.

Good shows start a cumulative process that is illustrated by such well-financed success stories as Sesame Street or the Forsythe Saga. When people watch a good show which catches their attention they acquire a taste for it. They learn to appreciate that kind of thing and their taste develops. If the public were offered two or three times as much well done high quality material, appetites for good fare would rise accordingly.

So increased funding of pro-social programs to compete with the inferior material that the advertisers now fund, is my first policy recommendation. But those in the audience who are predisposed to more degraded material will still pick such material and be affected by it.

If one rejects censorship, as I do, then the alternative is to keep instructive criticism of bad programming before the eyes of parents, teachers, and TV people.

We should not underestimate the impact of public awareness on people's behavior. For example, the teachings of modern psychology have had a profound effect on how parents treat their children in America today. Advertisers and TV professionals are no more impervious to influence than are mothers. They are very sensitive to public criticism. If mothers, educators, and Congressmen keep exposing abuse of the airwaves, broadcasters will respond by changing their programing.

One of the main values of the Surgeon General's study is influence on public awareness. It commissioned Gerbner content analysis documenting how much violence there is on TV now. It documented the accumulating evidence of the harmful effects of extensive TV violence. Hopefully its efforts will be a start, not an end.

I would like to associate myself with a suggestion that Douglas Cater will be making to this committee for continuous monitoring of the amount of violence on television.

Continuing research on the effects of television on children, continuing hearings like this one, continuing organization by citizen groups, may help make this great communication medium an ever greater force for good in our society.

Senator Pastore. Will you admit we are dealing with a dramatic and dynamic phenomenon, television; it has become part of American life. I think hardly any home is without it, regardless of financial circumstances.

As a matter of fact, I think the statistics are that it is in about 95 percent of American homes, or maybe it is 95 percent of the people look at TV.

In my mind, there is a distinction here between buying a ticket at the movie house or going out to buy a book which is in a class by itself. Television operates in the public domain. You buy the set and you are using the public airwaves and the people who are broadcasting the picture and the voice are being licensed by the Government to do so.

You can only give so many licenses and for that reason you have to have some process of granting and reviewing licenses.

The Communications Act, however, very specifically provides that the Federal Communications Commission cannot censor programs.

The Constitution absolutely forbids censorship.

The question I would like to ask you is this: You have to accept American society the way it is. Not everyone is normal, not everyone responds to the same thing the same way. Not everyone is educated. There are some people who are dull, some people who are very bright; there are some people who are retarded through no fault of their own, and some are affected by something a little more than others.

Well now, I have always said that the television belongs to the families of America. And a person who receives that broadcast license has a tremendous responsibility. He can't turn around and say, "I want to show an 'X' picture."

For instance, if he wants to show "I Am Curious Yellow" just because it is being shown in the movie house, there is a difference.

If you want to see "I Am Curious Yellow," you go down and buy a ticket and you go in and see it. I don't want to stop you.

But, on the other hand, I don't want to see that being shown on TV, because I don't think it is the right thing to do. Some people may disagree with me, but that is my own point of view.

What I am trying to say is, we have here a phenomenon that is rare today and that has changed our thinking in many aspects.

Now, as scientists, you have got to be pretty disciplined in what conclusions you reach, because not only must you preserve your own integrity, you have got to live with your opinion and you have got to defend it, whatever the case might be.

Now, what I am asking you, Dr. Pool, is this: After all you said, what would you say as a man and as a scientist, if you were sitting in my position. Would you say that something needs to be done about this?

Dr. Pool. Senator, I would certainly say that. As to what needs to be done, I would rather say as a citizen than as a scientist, because that is a civic question, not a scientific question.

Senator Pastore. That is right, and this is an element we have to wrestle with on this committee.

Would you venture as a citizen an opinion as to what needs to be done?

Dr. Pool. Yes, as an individual and not as a member of a scientific committee, I certainly do have opinions on that. It seems to me there are two main strategies available.

The first is to produce much more prosocial material to put onto the air waves than is now there, so that children and adults can find material that will raise their tastes and will educate them to want better material, because these things are habits. The second strategy is to make mothers and network personnel and TV personnel in general aware of the consequences that we have found have adverse effects, because neither the mothers nor the television personnel are impervious to this kind of criticism.

So I would like to congratulate you, Senator Pastore, for having set up this kind of a study and I would argue that as a number of people have already suggested, as the Surgeon General has suggested, and as others are going to suggest, that there is need for continuous monitoring of the violence, so that people will realize what is going on and will voluntarily do something about it.

Those are the two basic approaches I would take. I would hope that Congress would be able and willing to increase the support for really high quality and enjoyable public broadcasting, such as Sesame Street, by a very large amount, because only by competition of such good material would it become possible for TV to fulfill the role——

Senator PASTORE. You are talking about my friend Mr. Rogers now.

Dr. POOL. Well, I think TV has an enormous role as a medium of communication to play in our society and I would like to see a great deal more of the kind of thing that advertisers don't find it worth supporting and I would hope Congress would also make possible a continuation of the kind of thing it made possible through this committee, a continuous observation of what is going on that should be criticized.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I apologize to the committee and especially to the panel for interrupting the orderly development of individual statements. But there is one point that has not been covered in oral testimony that would be of particular interest to me because it leads to a question I want to pose, and that is what do we do next.

But before we get to the question of what do we do next, could someone describe to me what they visualize as available and desirable techniques for testing the further effects of television or even the corrective measures we may or may not try to suggest or legislate?

Now, clearly psychology and psychiatry and mass behavior are relatively subjective undertakings and I don't expect an exact formula, but can somebody please tell me how we are going to go about testing the effect of what is being done or what is to be done?

Senator PASTORE. Does anyone want to venture an answer on that? Dr. Rubinstein?

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. Senator, I think that one of the most difficult three word sentences that social scientists and other scientists can say is I don't know.

At this point in time, we are now some 20 years from the inception of television. Had this kind of study been done when we first began and had the kind of recommendations that this committee is now making been put into effect, we would have behind us some 20 years worth of trial and error in a variety of ways of getting indications of what is going on in television and other social indicators, which as you know is now being begun.

My personal feeling is that however we begin, it will be very crude at first.

Senator BAKER. If you will let me interrupt, that is not what I really want to ask.

My question is how do we design the social indicators? How reliable is the sensing system?

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** I am Dr. Pinderhughes, professor of psychiatry, Boston University School of Medicine. I don't have an answer, but I can give a concrete example of something that might be available in a short time, for instance. This would constitute but one additional instrument through which we could gain some information.

We are learning, for instance, that combat veterans, who suffer from traumatic neurosis have a latency period before they dream at night that was shorter than it is or it was before they developed their traumatic neurosis.

In other words, this might be an index.

Senator **Baker.** Has this been determined clinically? Is there an observable fact?

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** This is an observable fact, which for instance, can be subjected to measure and which may be—it will have to be tested more—but it may prove to be an index of psychological stress.

If it does prove to be, then this kind of thing, latency periods before dreaming takes place, work being done by some associates of mine, Dr. Greenberg and Dr. Pearlman, for instance, which then perhaps might indicate which children or which adults were having particular contact which was giving them additional psychological tasks to perform, because it seemed dramatic.

But we are very short on such kinds of indices.

Senator **Baker.** It is very encouraging to know there is some clinical observable fact on which we might base some causal relationship.

However, to extend that to the inquiry at hand, we would have to have some documentation of the amount and intensity of the child's violent experience, would we not, in order to measure the significance of that latency period? How would you do that? You still have a subjective input in what the child had experienced.

How could that be translated into a useful tool for this inquiry?

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** Once again, it would require the kind of studies with designs not unlike some of those which were done previously. This would include controlling the nature of the subject population; it would include controlling their life experience; it would mean controlling the television diet which they were receiving.

So, there would be both groups which would be receiving contents high in violence and those receiving contents relatively low. And then on a statistical basis it would be determined whether one group seemed to show more psychological stress than the other.

Senator **Baker.** Is there any other technique, any other clinically sound approach that any member of the panel can describe to me that we might utilize other than that outlined by Dr. Pinderhughes?

Dr. **Steinfeld.** I think there is a general response, Senator Baker, that I would like to make, and it follows what Dr. Rubinstein said. We have had a number of meetings regarding what ought to be done, and there is no general agreement, but other than that, we need continuity, and we need more effort in the field. I think probably the most significant thing which this committee has done is to focus on the area. We have one of many conclusions. But now I think rather than stop, we need to continue, we need to test rating systems, we need to continue research. But above all, we need the continuity, because if we stop now, in 10 years we will be right where we are today, we won't have the material.

Senator **Baker.** But back to the point I am trying to make, how will you test these changes, test the reaction to these changes? If we do have a rating system or if we do have late night viewing of more violent material on TV, or any number of things we have touched on here, who can tell me how you will test their effectiveness?

Dr. **Steinfeld.** I think we will have multiple research experiments attempting to assess the results of varying types of TV fare. But I don't think anybody can give you a finite answer at this point.

Senator **Baker.** I am not after an answer yet, we will get that later. What I am after is some information on what I am working with, that is how efficient is the sensing mechanism by which we can judge what is done and what the cause and effect relationships are.

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** I would like to say we have really not examined the basic questions with more than a few available instruments. There are a number of disciplines which have not brought their expertise to bear on the question, have not yet been invited, have not yet felt that the door is open for them to enter into work in this area. I would certainly think in the on-going work that is suggested, that it have a broad base rather than merely continue the rather narrow kinds of research which today have been done.

Senator **Baker.** In other words, we should be less concerned about establishing an exact correlaton between violence on TV and its effect on children, and more concerned with the general behavioral attitudes of people as they grow up in this era. Is that a correct interpretation of what you said?

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** I am saying that, and I am saying also including additional frames of research. There are no psychoanalytic studies, for instance, and we have no better way of studying longitudinal effects on the behavior of an individual. Simply addition of studies of this kind, while they would not produce statistical results for us, would be able to indicate in a graphic way the effects on single individuals.

Senator **Baker.** Without pursuing it too far, are you indicating that if we had the funding and the desire, we could explore by psychoanalytic methods the causal relationship between a set of parameters that would verify that TV is more or less violent and that useful information would flow from a psychoanalytic examination of that type?

Dr. **Pinderhughes.** I am suggesting that is one of many additional approaches that have not yet been used.

Senator **Baker.** Are there any others?

Dr. **Pool.** Senator Baker, I think the question you asked is a very important one, and I would like to break it into two questions.

There is, first of all, the question of what the trends are in our society, and there, I think, the most crucial question is simply what are the trends, not what is being shown. I don't think we can at every minute try to observe the effects of everything that is shown, but once we have established a pattern, once we have established at what ages children learn more, at what ages they learn less, when they are adversely affected, when they are helped, then I think the important thing is to keep a good track, a good account of what it is that is being shown, because we know that, for example, an increase in the amount of active violence that is being watched by very young children is going to have a very different effect; but we don't understand just when the age change comes. We don't understand at this point what is the process by which at the very early stages a child begins to assimilate an understanding of the meaning of this.

One of the things I think the committee is convinced of is there has to be a lot more study of the impact of TV at the early age, and I think we are also convinced it has to be done by continuously observing the same children over a long period of time. We have to have longitudinal studies. We can't keep doing that all of the time. We do that to understand the process.

Then when we have a better understanding of the process, then we need a continuous monitoring of what is going out on the air. So I make that distinction.

Senator Baker. I understand the distinction. Do I further understand, however, that it would be your recommendation that in the future, in order to improve the accuracy of our prediction of the relationship between violence and conduct, that we establish a fairly large sampling of children that we can follow continuously, and we have an accurate sampling of violent incidents that they are exposed to on television, and the statistical basis of this understanding will yield a better result than we would have otherwise?

Dr. Pool. And that we find situations where we can observe this very closely as it takes place, particularly in the early years.

Senator Baker. The problem to my nontechnical mind, is that you have described a statistical model, but you have not yet described to me any sort of clinical device or scientific basis for establishing a relationship between the exposure to violence and aggressive conduct. That gets back to the matter, I presume, of psychological testing, psychoanalytical determinations, or other factors that I have designated, as sensing material. How do we find out what that relationship is?

Dr. Steinfeld. Senator Baker, it is very complex, because in our society, we are never going to be able to isolate this. The children going to school, they have family relationships, they have playmates, they are exposed to books, movies, radio, and what we are going to have to do, it seems to me, is work ever harder on it with the knowledge that we will never really be able to parcel out exactly the significance.

But I think, as Dr. Pinderhughes indicated, there are additional disciplines who could bring knowledge to bear, but it will be awfully hard.

Senator Baker. At this point, I would like to pose a question for the Surgeon General. It is a tricky question, and if you don't want to answer it, say so, but if you had to judge the relative impact of violence on television versus the impact of school on children in terms of their aggressive conduct, which would you say was the more significant?

Dr. Steinfeld. I would have to use Dr. Rubinstein's three little words. I really don't know. I think, though, that television starts and is in the home long before the child goes to school. And as the Senator said, it is either a welcome or unwelcome visitor. So it has an impact we don't know about.

Senator Pastore. Would the Senator yield? To put this within the proper context that is, of the jurisdiction of this committee, it might well be that a young boy six years old sees his 13-year old sister kick the cat every time she goes by the cat, he doesn't have to wait to see it on TV to get the idea.

Senator Baker. That is a good clinical observation.

Senator Pastore. I know. But the point here is there are a lot of elements that contribute to the aggressiveness of a child. What we are trying to explore here is, is there a contributing factor on the part of television, and what do we do about it. You have to narrow it down. I realize a lot of children become aggressive that never looked at television. As a matter of fact, the five-cent show being talked about by Senator Cook, I understand that. There are a lot of things that affect a child—the home environment, the school environment, his peers. But the question here is—does violence on television have an effect on his behavior. That is the question here.

And if it does, what are we going to do about that? That is the question within the jurisdiction of this committee.

Senator Baker. But my concern is the logical extension of that question, Mr. Chairman. If we find what the cause and effect relationships are, the fact that it is estimated that a child, by the time he graduates from high school, has had 11,000 hours of schooling, and 14,000 hours of television, it seems to me justifies an examination of the proportionate contributions of each one.

Dr. Mendelsohn had a comment, I believe.

Dr. Mendelsohn. I am Harold Mendelsohn, professor of mass communication, University of Denver.

I simply want to underline what the Senators have just been saying, namely, that the complexity of the question relates to our understanding of what is aggression, what is an aggressive child, to begin with, and second, what is the contributory factor or exposure to television versus other kinds of experiences.

It seems to me we know very little about the process to begin with of the child, and unless we have that frame of reference first, we cannot really address ourselves to the specific weighting of any one particular kind of experience, even if it occurs over time.

Senator Baker. Thank you very much, Doctor.

May I conclude, Mr. Chairman, by simply saying I don't mean the range of the questions I put to the panel, nor the intensity of my interests to imply that I disagree with your conclusions. I do not.

I am simply trying to test the reliability of the factual data, the clinical observations, or the hypotheses that are advanced.

I agree, as a matter of fact, that these studies and your evaluation of them do indicate that the time is at hand to do something. I confess I don't know what. But I also suggest that there is a great deal yet to be done, and we don't quite yet have a clear view of how to go about doing it.

So, I believe as much needs to be done to establish modus operandi as to reach an early conclusion on what the evaluation might be.

I apologize for imposing on the committee's time.

Senator Pastore. Don't apologize, it was a fine contribution.

Dr. Rubenstein. Senator Pastore, I think we are going to then ask Dr. Klapper and Dr. Siegel to make a statement.

Dr. Klapper?

Dr. Klapper. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, I am Joseph Klapper, the director of social research, Columbia Broadcasting System. It has been my privilege to be a member of this committee, and I have also been a member of other committees and commissions, and I would like to underline Dr. Rubinstein's statements about the hard work and something he did not say, the, what I thought, smoothness with which this committee functioned, with which it approached its task, and with which it came to its conclusions.

I have a few remarks to make. I don't have a prepared statement, but I do have a few thoughts in my head.

The statement has made several times about the establishment of a causal reltaionship and Dr. Steinfield read several sections from the report which is called preliminary and tentative indications of the causal relationship. I would like to speak to that for a moment.

There are certainly indications of a causal relationship. I would like to repeat a little bit of what Dr. Pool said.

We have three types of evidence before us, really. We have evidence that in laboratory situations children, given the opportunity to do so, will mimic aggressive behavior. We have evidence that, in laboratory conditions, given the opportunity to do so, some children are being held by television, or at least after seeing some aggressive television, will engage in certain types of aggressive behavior.

Now, these pieces of aggressive behavior are relatively limited. They are essentially play behavior. They are aggressive, but they are essentially play behavior.

Then we come to studies which go into correlations of these, what people do in real life and there we find the relationship. We are talking now about really serious antisocial aggression. There we find the relationship more uncertain, although again there are indications.

So, what I want to say is, there certainly are indications. And I think that it is because of these three different types of evidence that the preliminary and tentative surrounded that terminology and should have surrounded the terminology.

Now, I too have thought about what might be done in this situation and some of the statements that have been made in the report really put one in a quandry when one tries to think of what should be done about it, not in terms of what is legal or not legal, what does or does not violate the first amendment. But just what are you going to do.

I would point out, for example, that the report indicates that a modest reduction in violence, what would be the effect of this? Nobody at the moment knows.

For one thing, people might go, people probably would go and seek out violence elsewhere.

The total elimination of violence has never been seriously considered as a viable alternative by any reputable group or body or whatever.

Another point that is made in the report is that the sheer amount of violence may not be as important as the way in which it is portrayed. But, as the report says in those words that Dr. Rubinstein mentioned, nobody knows how it should be portrayed, which makes it very difficult.

What then can one do under these circumstances?

I have three thoughts in mind, and I would like to say that two of the three thoughts are essentially well intentioned guesses, the other one is based on research.

The first of these three thoughts hasn't anything whatever to do with programing. It is more a kind of general backup safeguard that has been mentioned in one way or another by several people already, and that is that I think it is important to somehow provide for and encourage the development of greatly increased parent-child communication.

I am not now talking exclusively about parents talking to their children about what is going to be on next. The indications in research indicate that family attitudes toward aggression and violence are extremely important.

Some studies indicate that they are about as important as television, some indicate that they are more important than television in forming the child's attitudes on these subjects.

I think it is vital that parents be made aware of this, and aware of the need for them to communicate to their children the abhorrence of violence and antisocial aggression which, presumably, they feel.

Now, many parents are, perhaps, not capable of doing this, and one hears talk about the need for educating parents, and I agree that is a need. And I would add that it is more easily said than done.

I think it can be done.

I am delighted to hear about this book that is being issued, about how parents can use television. But I was thinking of other things as well.

I was thinking of a kind of multi-faceted campaign at the community level, in which parents who were already aware and interested would press for discusion of this topic in PTA meetings, in church groups and in other community group meetings of this sort.

I don't think that is impossible, and I believe that the skills that parents would have to develop are not all that great.

I believe that if parents could simply be led into establishing dialogs with their children on these matters, the ordinary self-expression of the parents, while it may not be as effective as a session with Dr. Pinderhughes, is nevertheless likely to be a considerable step forward.

Now, in turning to the programing, the first thought I have does not pertain to violence, but to antiviolence.

Unfortunately, or perhaps not unfortunately, virtually nothing that I have to say has not been said before in some form.

I would like to see renewed and intensified efforts in reference to maximizing the pro-social potential of television. When I say that, I am not thinking about Sesame Street, or about other programs whose aims are essentially pedagogic, and which are geared to teach children numbers, or geography or history or other facts.

I am rather thinking of the kinds of entertainment program which depicts people, particularly children, meeting life situations, solving these life situations, or perhaps failing to solve them. And in particular, solving interpersonal problems without resort to violence.

I am thinking of the various programs which do this, both lightly or seriously, and urging that this be looked at rather hard, that inquiry be made on—here, of course, Senator Baker might well ask me how I would make those inquiries, and I am afraid I could not provide the details at the moment—but inquiry should be made into whether these pro-social programs are, in fact, having pro-social effects? Are they succeeding in doing what they are supposed to be doing?

And I would presume that that kind of information could be put to good use in future programing designed to achieve pro-social objectives.

Now, what is pro-social?

In the first place, it is a big word. In the second place I suppose one man's pro-social is not everyone else's pro-social. But there are certainly things we could agree on that are pro-social.

By way of example. I have in mind programs which promote admiration for skills and abilities that do not involve the display of antisocial aggression, or of violence, including among such skills and abilities, the solution of interpersonal problems without resort to violence.

This would all be undertaken in my hope, in an intensified effort, as I said, to maximize the pro-social potential of television.

Senator PASTORE. May I interrupt you, Doctor?

You talk about the responsibility of the parents, and I agree with you.

You talk about the maximization of professional programs, I agree with you.

But, why don't we talk about the minimizing of excessive violence? Why isn't that a part of the question??

I mean, that is the thing that we are investigating here. I realize that there is a lot of good we can do through television, and television should do it, and that is their responsibiilty. And I hope when the license renewals come up that the Commission will insist upon a lot more pro-social programing.

But what we are bothered with here is excessive violence. Now I realize that a family can do a great deal with a child and should do a great deal with a child, but we have to accept life the way it is.

You are a scientist with the broadcasting industry, CBS. It is one of the three networks. Don't you think there has been much violence on television that is unnecessary?

Dr. KLAPPER. Yes.

Senator PASTORE. Now, why don't we cut that out? That is what I am talking about. That is what we should do, where we should start. And then all of the other studies you mention, of course, we ought to do them. I go along with that. And no one has been talking more than I have about that in all of the years I have served as chairman of this committee. But the question at hand is, does televised violence have to do with the aggressiveness of a child, in spite of everything else? And the question here is, is it something that can be helped, and that is a question we have to decide.

If it can be helped, I say for goodness gracious, let's do it.

Senator BAKER. Before you go, let me say——

Dr. KLAPPER. My next paragraph was about the violence.

Senator PASTORE. Go ahead. Please, let's hear it.

Senator BAKER. I am not going to comment on the chairman's statement. I am going to continue the interruption though, as a convenient place to ask for elaboration on a statement you made earlier, and that is, that if children didn't watch violence this way, they would turn to some other source.

I don't know, really, what you imply by that and I don't know what I should understand from it. But do you suggest by that that there is human craving for violence, or that violence on television, is a form of sublimation of other violent undertakings?

Dr. KLAPPER. In the first place, surely violence is popular; there is no question about that. In the second place it is a fairly well-established fact of communication research that whatever people may like, whether it be violence or whether it be highly serious discussion or whatever, if they do not find it in one place, they will seek it elsewhere. I do not mean that for every violent program that you drop from television, every child would run off to buy a violent comic book. That is not what I mean. I mean there would be a tendency for people who like this to seek it elsewhere, so that one is not quite sure what the net effect in terms of actual exposure to violence would be.

As sublimination, I myself am unaware of any, shall we say hard evidence that seeing violence on television or any other medium acts in a cathartic or subliminated manner. There have been some studies to that effect; they are grossly, greatly outweighed by studies as to the opposite effect, and my guess on the basis of the data at present is that this is not true. I suppose it may be true to some individual somewhere. But as a general rule, I do not think it provides a sublimation effect.

Senator BAKER. That point, it seems to me, would be important in determining the validity of the committee's report. I wonder if any other member——

Dr. KLAPPER. What point, sir?

Senator BAKER. That if violence is dropped from television, there may be a shift to some other form of violence.

Dr. POOL. I was going to comment on the agreement with Mr. Klapper that the committee's report is important in one respect, in fairly conclusively rejecting the notion of sublimination or catharsis. That is that was a thesis that 10 years ago could have been argued and was argued. You could say well, certainly some people are hurt, but maybe some people get good out of it, because they get it out of their system.

I think one of the important things about the committee report is that it quite conclusively rejects that on the basis of evidence.

Senator BAKER. What about the companion theory though, that there may be a tendency to turn to other forms of violence, there may be an innate hunger for violence of some sort? Is that also rejected by the committee report?

Dr. POOL. No, I don't think you could say that that is rejected. I would say, I think you would have to say that that is a subject about which we don't know a great deal. There isn't in this society any natural situation in which people have to turn away from television for violent materials, so we really could'nt say. There are other kinds of things. For example, high quality educational material, for example, serious discussions to which people have to turn to printed material and books, because it is not on television, and we wish it were.

Dr. STEINFELD. There are alternatives in other societies, the levels of violence in TV programing is much less. There are studies in Sweden and United Kingdom and Israel which show there is far less violence, and I don't think we have data that the kids there listen to violent data on radio or newspapers or anything. I think the point is we just can't do something and assume it will work out properly. We have to continue monitoring what we are doing.

I think that is what the Chairman had in mind in beginning all of this, and Senator Baker brings us back to it repeatedly. So I think we are in general agreement, not in the sense that the kids will go to look at other more violent things, or do other—experience violence vicariously otherwise, but that anything we do will require our continuing attention, so we can monitor just what significance it has.

Dr. **Klapper.** I might say this again was not an original thought. I was more or less quoting a sentence in the report to the effect that if this were reduced modestly, the effect at present is unknown. And the people would, to some degree, seek it elsewhere; to what degree, nobody knows. Nobody ever tried it. I was going to say something about violence. And I am thinking mostly, I must confess, about programs which are designed for a younger audience and for children. I think that the complete elimination of any suggestion of violence in such programs would, as various people said, delineate a world that doesn't exist.

To suggest to children that boys never fight or girls never fight or people don't yell at each other or that crime doesn't exist, I don't think would be doing them a service. It would be much better, I believe, if children could be helped to cope with these situations.

I surely am no seer, and I cannot give you a prescription, except that I feel insofar as violence is used at all in programs for younger children, it should be done with good reason, and it should be either true to life, which I will explain in a moment, or clearly fantasy and burlesque. When I say true to life, I am getting into a topic that has already been discussed earlier today and that is the question of sanitation. For some time now television, in the United States at least, has avoided emphasis on the gory aspects of violence. It has been suggested by some that this may be a fallacious procedure in that it gives people the idea that violence is not all that bad, people get beaten up and get up and walk away and I am suggesting some additional emphasis on the horrors of violence might be very good.

I am not so sure that intense focusing on blood dripping out of someone's neck is a particularly desirable procedure, but I believe some more true-to-life depiction of violence and its consequences should be employed when violence is employed in these kinds of programs. In reference to the fantasy and burlesque aspect, it has been said quite truly that very young children do not know the difference between fantasy and reality, cannot make that distinction. We don't know exactly when they can make the distinction, and I don't quite know what to do about that.

In reference to toddlers, there are good programs of the preschool type which I would like to see increased. But, of course, you can't program exclusively for toddlers, and toddlers are going to see other things anyway. And the best I can suggest at this point, gross as it is, is that I think that violence, when it is used at all, should be an educative experience or that it should be in a form so fantasy and burlesque-ish as to minimize the task of parents or peers indicating to the child that this is not how life is. I have only one more point to make. I mentioned before that the report says that the sheer amount of violence may not be as important as the way it is portrayed. As I have also said before, nobody has seriously suggested the total elimination of violence from all television entertainment and news.

Let us take it for the moment as given that somehow or other violence is going to be portrayed. The fact is social science at this moment can't tell us much about how to portray it. I have a good deal of confidence in research, possibly over-confidence, because that is my profession. It moves very slowly, as this committee well knows, but it does move. And so I would urge strongly the continuance of high quality research designed to determine the effects of different types of portrayal of violence with the major objective being simple, how can violence best be portrayed, when it is portrayed, so that it is not likely to engender imitation or admiration, but is rather likely to nurture abhorrence. To the degree that social scientists, and I don't mean only sociologists or psychologists, to the degree that teachers, educators, anybody can provide us progressively with information on that subject, to that degree, writers and program producers can move from well-intentioned guess to an important solid basis of knowledge.

Senator PASTORE. On page 79 of your report, I think you make a very significant statement. "Although many among network personnel express interest in reducing violence in their programing, they feel constrained by the economic realities of broadcasting. In order to induce advertisers to finance programing, networks must draw large audiences with demographic characteristics attractive to advertisers."

That is essentially what we are interested in, in these hearings. This idea that the profit controls the amount of violence, I think, is not only inimicable to the criteria for granting a broadcast license, but it is harmful. We all know there is a certain amount of violence in life. But what we are talking about here is violence for the sake of violence, excessive violence. Where you talk about the human restraints on the part of an individual, there is no one in the top echelon of CBS that doesn't know the difference between right and wrong and when something is being overdone. If it is being done to get more advertising and more viewers, I say it is all wrong, and that is what we are talking about. We are talking about restraints here.

Dr. KLAPPER. I am not one to disagree with that statement, sir.

Senator PASTORE. I am glad you agree. Can we hear from the others?

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. The next member of the committee will be Dr. Alberta Siegel.

Dr. SIEGEL. Thank you. I am Alberta Siegel. I am a professor of psychology at Stanford University, and my intention today is to concentrate on policy recommendations, and I have five recommendations to make. These are contained in the prepared testimony which I would appreciate having put in the record.

Senator PASTORE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Dr. Siegel's prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF ALBERTA E. SIEGEL, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

You have asked me to give the policy recommendations I have reached based on the work of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, of which I was a member. I have outlined several recommendations for your consideration. Before presenting them I must comment briefly on some features of our report to the Surgeon General which have been widely misunderstood.

The substance of our report, based on a careful review of the twenty-three studies commissioned by our program and also of previous research, was that there is now evidence for a causal link between watching TV violence and subsequent aggressive behavior by the viewer. Such a causal link has long been suspected or presumed by well-informed social scientists, by concerned parents, and by many other thoughtful observers. The evidence for it comes both from experimental studies in social scientific laboratories and from field surveys in natural situations.

There is no reason to believe that TV watching is the principal cause of violent behavior by adolescents and adults. The causes of aggression are many, and they include both biological and cultural sources. In childhood, perhaps the single most important source of later aggressiveness is gross parental neglect and abuse. The child of a harshly punitive parent is very likely to become a punitive adult himself in later life, and the victim of child neglect is likely to become a neglected and abusive parent. In adolescence and young adulthood incarceration in our prisons is undoubtedly one of the major sources of later aggressiveness—our jails and prisons as they presently operate are schools for crime. Those who seek the single most effective steps that might be taken in our society to reduce violence must be advised to consider strenuous interventions to aid abused children and sweeping reform of our local, state and federal systems of incarceration of charged and convicted criminals.

Commercial television makes its own contribution to the set of factors that underlie aggressiveness in our society. It does so in entertainment through ceaseless repetition of the message that conflict may be resolved by aggression. that violence is a way of solving problems. In TV entertainment, children may observe countless acts of murder and mayhem, may learn through observation how to perform these acts, and may learn that such acts are admired by other people. Thus commercial television is itself a school for violence. American children are attending this school as many hours a year as they attend the schools sponsored by their local school boards.

Research has shown that not all children are equally vulnerable to the negative influences of television watching. Indeed, it is a minority of all children who display these influences in their later behavior. My own guess is that TV violence has negative effects on all child viewers, but that countervailing forces overcome these effects in the majority. In the minority, the positive influences in their lives are not sufficient to counteract the baneful effects of hours of watching aggressive modes of conflict resolution. The result is that the children adopt these aggressive modes in their own lives. When we talk about a minority of American children, it is important to remember that we are talking about millions of children. It is important also to remember that most negative influences in our society have overt effects on only a minority. For example, only a minority of young adults use heroin, yet no one doubts that it is a very serious social problem. Only a tiny minority of American children ever contracted polio, yet our society strove energetically to eliminate that disease. The "minority" of American children who display the effects of too much violence on TV is surely a much larger group numerically than either the heroin users or the polio victims; they need our concern.

Who are the children who are most affected by watching TV violence? They are the very children who have been predisposed to be aggressive by other influences in their lives. In other words, they are the least capable of interpreting and resisting the anti-social influence of TV violence, because they have the poorest defenses against it. The fact that they are already predisposed to be aggressive should make us especially cautious about any additional negative influences in their lives, and should hardly make us complacement that it is their "predisposition" which enables vicarious violence to becloud these children's lives further.

Self-regulation within the television industry has not worked. Since the late 1940's there have been calls to the TV industry for self-regulation, from Senate committees, from concerned parents, from mental health professionals, from the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Despite pious promises there has been no action sufficient to cleanse TV of this stain. The incidence of violent actions in entertainment programs has not changed notably in the last five years; it remains at a brutally high level.

What alternatives to self-regulation deserve the consideration of your Subcommittee? I have several suggestions.

First, I suggest that *we need an independent monitoring agency to provide regular reports on the level of violence in television entertainment.* This agency could issue periodic "smog bulletins," alerting the public to the level of violent pollution currently being emitted by their TV receivers. I suggest that this agency might be privately financed, by one of the foundations, and that reports should be issued at least monthly. These reports should be broadcast over indicate how much violence is occurring, which networks and stations are broadcasting it, the times it is being broadcast and how many child viewers are estimated to be watching at those times. They should also indicate who the sponsors are for the violent shows. This suggestion has been advanced by my colleague, Professor Albert Bandura of Stanford University. He believes that it would be helpful if the public and those within the industry were aided in identifying the violence vendors.

Second, *I suggest that consumers convey their disapproval of violence vendors in two ways. We may refuse to purchase their products. And we may refuse to buy stock in their firms.* The purpose of commercial television is to sell products. If consumers boycott products that are advertised on programs glorifying aggression and teaching techniques of mayhem and massacre, perhaps the producers of these products will turn their energies to finding other techniques of attracting customers. Many investors today are guided in their investing by social concerns. Churches, universities, foundations, union pension plans, and others are seeking to invest their funds in ways that benefit society. If these groups know who the violence vendors are, they may withdraw investment funds from their firms and instead invest their funds in those manufacturers who sponsor wholesome entertainment for the next generation.

A third suggestion derives from my observation that TV producers are mimics. When one format succeeds one month, it is being widely imitated by other producers six months later. Thus, we have "fads" in television programming, with doctor shows proliferating one season and private eye shows another. When successful new formats of non-violent entertainment are devised, they will be copied. *I recommend increased support for public television* because I believe that the craftsmen in public television are likely to turn their energies and talents to creating constructive programs for children. As these attract children to their audience, they will be imitated by other producers and a chain of change will have been forged.

It is the imitative capabilities of TV producers that prompt my fourth suggestion as well. All of us who have traveled abroad have observed that programming for children is more successful in other nations that it is in the United States. Our record is unmatched in the neglect we display to our child audiences. *I recommend that travel fellowships be offered to the writers and producers of children's television programs* so they may observe first-hand how our neighboring nations—Canada, England, the European countries, Israel, etc.—have succeeded in attracting child audiences without saturating them with violence. These fellowships might be funded by the television industry itself, and funds might also be available on a matching basis from private foundations for this purpose.

Fifth, I believe the Federal Communications Commission could be more effective in obtaining fair treatment for children and adolescents. I suggest that a child advocate be appointed to the staff of the F.C.C. This individual should have frequent and direct communications with the Commissioners, advising them on questions bearing on the welfare of children. He or she should be well acquainted with social scientific research and also in close communication with the professions serving children: education, social service, child psychology, pedatrics, child psychiatry, etc. In the work of the F.C.C. the child advocate should be alert to decisions that have implications for the child audience, and should take initiatives in recommending changes in policies and procedures that would benefit children. You might wish to invite him to testify here from time to time on the progress that he has achieved in working with the Commissioners for the welfare of all the children in our land.

Dr. SIEGEL. Thank you.

Before I get to those recommendations, I would like to make a few remarks which are in response to some of the things that Congressman Murphy said earlier today, and also that have been raised at other times in these hearings.

The substance of our report, based on a careful review of the 23 studies commissioned by our program and also of previous research, was that there is now evidence for a casual link between watching TV violence and subsequent aggressive behavior by the viewer. Such a causal link has long been suspected or presumed by well-informed social scientists, by concerned parents, and by many other thoughtful observers. The evidence for it comes both from experimental studies in social scientific laboratories and from field surveys in natural situations.

There is no reason to believe that TV watching is the principal cause of violent behavior by adolescents and adults. The causes of aggression are many, and they include both biological and cultural sources. In childhood, perhaps the single most important source of later aggressiveness is gross parental neglect and abuse. The child of a harshly punitive parent is very likely to become a punitive adult himself in later life, and the victim of child neglect is likely to become a neglectful and abusive parent.

In adolescence and young adulthood, incarceration in our prisons is undoubtedly one of the major sources of later aggressiveness—our jails and prisons as they presently operate are schools for crime.

Those who seek the single most effective steps that might be taken in our society to reduce violence must be advised to consider strenuous interventions to aid abused children and sweeping reform of our local, State, and Federal systems of incarceration of charged and convicted criminals.

Commercial television makes its own contribution to the set of factors that underlie aggressiveness in our society. It does so in entertainment through ceaseless repetition of the message that conflict may be resolved by aggression, that violence is a way of solving problems.

In TV entertainment, children may observe countless acts of murder and mayhem, may learn through observation how to perform these acts, and may learn that such acts are admired by other people. Thus commercial television is itself a school for violence. And American children are attending this school as many hours a year as they attend the schools sponsored by their local school boards.

In response to Senator Baker's question, I would remark there is less evidence of truancy from television than there is truancy from schools.

Research has shown that not all children are equally vulnerable to the negative influences of television watching. Indeed, it is a minority of all children who display these influences in their later behavior. My own guess is that TV violence has negative effects on all child viewers, but that countervailing forces overcome these effects in the majority. In the minority, the positive influences in their lives are not sufficient to counteract the baneful effects of hours of watching aggressive modes of conflict resolution.

The result is that the children adopt these aggressive modes in their own lives. When we talk about a minority of American children, it is important to remember that we are talking about millions of children.

It is important also to remember that most negative influences in our society have overt effects on only a minority.

Dr. Steinfeld mentioned this in connection with tuberculosis infection.

Another example would be heroin addiction. For example, only a minority of young adults use heroin, yet no one doubts that it is a very serious social problem. Only a tiny minority of American children ever contracted polio, yet our society strove energetically to eliminate that disease. The "minority" of American children who display the effects of too much violence on TV is surely a much larger group numerically than either the heroin users or the polio victims; they need our concern.

I would like to say something about this issue of predisposition. Who are the children who are most affected by watching TV violence? They are the very children who have been predisposed to be aggressive by other influences in their lives. In other words, they are the least capable of interpreting and resisting the anti-social influence of TV violence, because they have the poorest defenses against it. The fact that they are already predisposed to be aggressive should make us especially cautious about any additional negative influences in their lives, and should hardly make us complacement that it is their "predisposition" which enables vicarious violence to becloud these children's lives further.

Self-regulation within the television industry has not worked. Since the late 1940's, there have been calls to the TV industry for self-regulation, from Senate committees, from concerned parents, from mental health professionals, from the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Despite pious promises there has been no action sufficient to cleanse TV of this stain. The incidence of violent actions in entertainment programs has not changed notably in the last five years; it remains at a brutally high level.

I have several suggestions of alternatives to self-regulation. The first one I want to make is one that has already been discussed this morning. We need an independent monitoring agency to provide regular reports on the level of violence in television entertainment. This agency could issue periodic "smog bulletins," alerting the public to the level of violent pollution currently being emitted by their TV receivers.

Senator PASTORE. What do you mean by independent, Doctor?

Dr. SIEGEL. It seems to me this could be privately financed by the private foundations.

Senator PASTORE. You don't mean within the FCC, you wouldn't go that far?

Dr. SIEGEL. I'm sure your judgment would be better than mine in that matter, Senator.

Senator PASTORE. I would like to see it absolutely independent of government, if it could be achieved. But whether or not you could raise the money to do it is another question. But maybe you could. It is worth a try.

Dr. SIEGEL. I think it is worth a try. I think these reports should be broadcast over television and should appear in newspapers and magazines, these smog reports on violence pollution. They should indicate how much violence is occurring, which networks and stations are broadcasting it, the times it is being broadcast, and how many child viewers are estimated to be watching at those times. They should also indicate who the sponsors are for the violent shows. This suggestion has been advanced by my colleague, Professor Albert Bandura of Stanford University. He believes that it would be helpful if the public and those within the industry were aided in identifying the violence vendors.

Second, I suggest that consumers convey their disapproval of violence vendors in two ways. We may refuse to purchase their products. And we may refuse to buy stock in their firms. The purpose of commercial television is to sell products. If consumers boycott products that are advertised on programs glorifying aggression and teaching techniques of mayhem and massacre, perhaps the producers of these products will turn their energies to finding other techniques of attracting customers.

Many investors today are guided in their investing by social concerns. Churches, universities, foundations, union pension plans, and others are seeking to invest their funds in ways that benefit society. If these groups know who the violence vendors are, they may withdraw investment funds from their firms and instead invest their funds in those manufacturers who sponsor wholesome entertainment for the next generation.

My point is the surveys that have been done to date about violence on television have indicated which networks and which stations are showing violence, but they have not systematically indicated who the sponsors are. If we consumers had information on the sponsors, we could take action and take our business elsewhere.

A third suggestion derives from my observation that TV producers are mimics. When one format succeeds one month, it is being widely imitated by other producers six months later. Thus, we have "fads" in television programming, with doctor shows proliferating one season and private-eye shows another. When successful new formats of nonviolent entertainment are devised, they will be copied. I recommend increased support for public television because I believe that the craftsmen in public television are likely to turn their energies and talents to creating constructive programs for children, as your friend, Mr. Rogers, has done on public television. As these attract children to their audience, they will be imitated by other producers and a chain of cahnge will have been forged.

It is the imitative capabilities of TV producers that prompt my fourth suggestion as well. All of us who have traveled abroad have observed that programing for children is more successful in other nations than it is in the United States. Our record is unmatched in the neglect we display to our child audiences. I recommend that travel fellowships be offered to the writers and producers of children's television programs so they may observe firsthand how our neighboring nations—Canada, England, the European countries, Israel, et cetera—have succeeded in attracting child audiences without saturating them with violence.

These fellowships might be funded by the television industry itself, and funds might also be available on a matching basis from private foundations for this purpose.

Fifth, I believe the Federal Communications Commission could be more effective in obtaining fair treatment for children and adolescents. I suggest that a child advocate be appointed to the staff of the FCC. This individual should have frequent and direct communications with the Commissioners, advising them on questions bearing on the welfare of children. He or she should be well acquainted with social scientific research and also in close communication with the professions serving children: Education, social service, child psychology, pediatrics, child psychiatry, et cetera.

In the work of the FCC, the child advocate should be alert to decisions that have implications for the child audience, and should take initiatives in recommending changes in policies and procedures that would benefit children. You might wish to invite him to testify here from time to time on the progress that he has achieved in working with the Commissioners for the welfare of all the children in our land.

Senator Pastore. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Dr. Rubinstein. Anybody else?

Dr. Rubinstein. Dr. Pinderhughes is next.

Senator Pastore. All right.

Dr. Pinderhughes. Human beings have not adequately understood and certainly have not yet mastered their potentials for individual and group violence. Television is an instrument which may be used consciously or unwittingly by individuals to do violence to other individuals or to groups. Television is an instrument which may be used by one group to do direct or indirect violence against another group. It is an instrument which may be employed for instruction, education, training, changing values, modifying behavior of individuals and groups.

Television has played a central role in the social changes which have taken place since the people of our country strived to come to grips with our individual and collective aggression and violence. Currently our attitudes and behavior about the Vietnam War and other international involvements are undergoing change.

In the recent past, relationships between men and women, rich and poor, white and nonwhite, educators and students, have been greatly influenced by televised contents on these issues and by the communication effects which permitted mobilization of broader-based support for change.

Conflicts associated with the processes through which change is brought about have been violent at times. A televised newscast of a violent attack by police upon peaceful demonstrators in Selma, Ala., mobilized people across the Nation to go to Selma to peacefully protest the violence witnessed on national TV.

Three peaceful demonstrators, including a woman and minister, who had gone to Selma in response to the telecast, were killed in the week which followed.

Who can evaluate with certainty the role played by television in the social interactions referred to as riots and unrests? How essential to constructive change have been these processes including the violence associated with them? Only following the riots and the assassinations of 1967 and 1968 did most colleges, professional schools, businesses, and other institutions begin to take affirmative action to integrate.

Preventable violence, exploitation, neglect, and deprivation are permitted to continue as long as there are only a few influential persons committed to change. Television has been used to produce common educative and common emotional arousal on matters of grave public concern.

In some instances, violence has occurred in the social processes which were mobilized, some of which led to constructive change. How can human resources be mobilized to respond appropriately to human needs without such education and arousal? The determination of the course of our society, on a basis of competition, rather than on the basis of national values and conscience, means that the violated, the poor, the nonessential, the nonelite, and others who may be relatively powerless to change some painful state, must wait, develop power, and press for change through various competitive social processes based on power.

Television is intimately involved in all of this. It may be used as an instrument of constructive change, or as an instrument of oppression. It may be unconsciously used in very destructive ways at the time when some consciously planned constructive effects are also taking place. I would like to point out or draw attention to the fact that many of us here, as well as the public at large, and certainly the press take the focus of this study, which was very limited, and draws broad conclusions from it.

Here is an article from a paper of January 18, right after the report came out. The headline, "TV Contributes Little to Violence in Society, U.S. Study Says," and it goes on to indicate that television contributed very little to violence throughout the country, all age groups, it doesn't show in any way that the study was restricted to the effects on children. The statements which get made in this narrow confined area are subsequently being applied in the kind of sloppy thinking way that we do to much broader areas. I would like to comment upon what the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on TV and Violence did not do. This committee, in accordance with its limited charge, focused its attention and efforts on the effects of televised violence upon children. If the questions and social problems related to televised violence were compared to a 20-room house, we might say that our charge directed our attention toward one room and at the same time away from the other 19. As a result, we did not focus on why human beings are so strongly attrated toward scenes of violence and conflict, on the effects of televised violence on adults, on the mobilization of concern for human suffering by televising accurate scenes of real life violence.

We did not focus on how violence on brown people, yellow people, black people, red people, and white people, female, and male people, young and old, elite and nonelite can be done, and also undone by the use of television. We did not focus on the slow victimization that occurs when processed violent action is so divided among many people in an organization that responsibility and accountablility becomes impossible to define in the presence of several million victims. Nor did we focus on the violence of television industry's personnel practice nor on economic or political educational practices which permit the interests of one party to thrive at the expense of others. We did not focus on the damage which may be done by influential aggressive narcissistic persons whose work provides them with considerable visibility and access to television.

My criticism is not of television, but of the way we use it, not of televised violence, but of the purpose for which we use it, catering to the immature aspects of grown-ups, to the violent and other disruptive impulses which ordinarily must be renounced, represented, and excluded from our social group behavior. And doing this not because it helps victimized people to solve problems, or any other people to solve problems, but because it captures the largest audience, sells the most products, and promotes the interests of a few influential ones who have access to television and to the resources and power to determine its course.

One has but to examine one's own experience and that of his associates to realize that the auditory and visual stimulus from television can convey impressions about people, places, and things which can selectively arouse positive or negative responses to the contents portrayed. It influences our voting, buying, and many aspects of our thinking, emotions, and body movements.

Where excellent athletes were once produced by the dozen, we now produce them by the tens of thousands, thanks to television. Fads in speech, clothing, and body movements, which once were slowly moving from one community to another, can be generated simultaneously across the country. What we see is quite often what we get. Television has been the principal determining factor in the course of social movements, political campaigns, economic fortunes. Obviously, it is an important and powerful instrument with remarkable potentials for influencing or even controlling people.

It will be in the public interest to have these processes studied and understood by the greatest possible number of people. There should be no closed doors, hidden activity, or secret planning to manipulate people via television in exploitative or destructive directions.

What we come to love or hate, to favor or negotiate, to advocate or denounce, the affectionate relationships, and the hostile relationships we form, the teams, persons, and products we like, and those we renounce, also the candidates, the nationalities, the ethnic groups, the races we favor or neglect, may be determined to a considerable degree by the way we use television. We turn on what turns us on. This is sometimes unfortunate.

We should keep in mind that the attitudes, beliefs and cultural patterns and life experiences already recorded within us govern our judgment of and response to whatever we see or hear. For credibility to each individual, what he sees and hears must fit what he already has in his mind. Instead of responding to and reinforcing the value systems and belief systems and cultural patterns, because a majority of people hold those particular ones, thereby imposing the systems of the majority upon minorities, ways must be found to foster perception in terms of the past, present, and future adaptive value.

Among primate animals, dynamics of power results in range according to dominance. The hierarchical structure in most institutions reinforce this kind of behavior. They separate and compartmentalize, isolate instead of uniting people and promoting the well-known kiss-up, kick-down behavior which determines our humanity in many areas.

Television offers great potential for enabling identification with victims as well as with aggressors, with the low as well as with the high, with those who follow as well as those who lead, with those who are distant, as well as those who are near. And with those who appear different as well as those who appear the same.

Unfortunately, television thusfar in this country has been widely used to promote power struggles, conflicts, and differences more often than to promote understanding and genuine harmony between peoples in this country and other countries.

Now this kind of theme we have extended in chapter 9 which very few people probably have read and which I noted that Senator Pastore quoted from earlier this morning. It is beyond the conclusions. It is what we called the unfinished agenda. I think it might not be out of place to mention a personal concept of mine which reflects all of my experience. I have written several papers on it. I think that basically human thinking and behavior is paranoid in nature. It is group related, however, and as long as it is group related, the social capacities of the individuals are quite satisfactory and the person is healthy. This is non-pathological paranoid behavior.

Various ideologists, various schools of thought, various religious differences that we have, the various different points of view basically conform to all of the dynamics of paranoia as I can perceive it. The particular paranoids we call sick are those who lack the social capacity and ability to trust which permits them to align their paranoid systems with other persons and which permits them to take in and accept the beliefs of their associates. So in this sense they are socially sick. This is of importance, I believe, primarily because it is central to the conflicts that individuals have with one another and that groups have with one another. It is also central in the television business, because what gets projected primarily has to do with the belief systems associated with either the decisionmakers in television or with the majority audience that must be appealed to in order to sell products. These same dynamics, we had to come to grips with in our committee. If you think the conflict that has been stirred up in the wake of the committee report is great, you should have seen the conflict which existed on the committee in the beginning. We went through a process in which we tested out our ideas, began to find the false beliefs that were associated with ever person's ideas, and what we could finally separate off was the opinion of scientists from just what their scientific data proved and supported and where the line was drawn. It took us a long time to do this. Actually, we feel we were able to do this.

What we notice now is a return to the same process, right back to the beginning, where lots of opinions will be added to it, personal opinions, which are really not supportable by the hard data.

Senator PASTORE. Could I ask you a question on that point, Doctor? Was there an independence of individuals and of thought in the discussions and in the conclusions that were reached?

Dr. PINDERHUGHES. There was an independence of thought to the degree where we wondered whether we would have 12 separate reports at one point. And in the thrashing of this out, we really had to get beyond the opinions and down to the science.

Senator PASTORE. Do you feel that overall the report, while it is naturally a compromise of views, in order to be unanimous, does have the main thrust that we have explained here today?

Dr. PINDERHUGHES. I would say it has the main thrust of what we have explained today, but I think that what we are trying to do is to take a tiny little detail and draw conclusions to apply to very broad issues. And in scientific terms, this is—

Senator PASTORE. I would like to be heard on that question, because I think we should understand the matter of legislative jurisdiction. When this study was initiated by me, it had to be confined to the broadcast media; I mean it had to be broadcasting, because that is as far as the jurisdiction of this committee goes. I am very much intrigued about this overall study which has to do with the health and welfare of our society. And that is something that should be recommended by Mr. Richardson, if I may make a suggestion here, because it is something that should be undertaken by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Not only does it touch the education of our children, it also touches upon their health and, as you have talked about, their emotional capacity. I think, myself, it hadn't ought to be abandoned, but I could not undertake that for the simple reason that this committee's jurisdiction is confined to television. And my question here is what contribution does television make? I don't say it contributes exclusively or totally to it, but if it does contribute then something should be done about it. Let's take that as a start. I think insofar as the broad investigation is concerned, it should be undertaken, because in the long run, if we don't do it, we will live to regret it.

What turns a youngster, who comes from a fine home, to the frustration that leads to drug addiction? I wonder if anybody has ever answered that question. And that is one of the most important problems that we have in this country today. What makes a child who has everything to live for turn to drugs? When that child has the capacity to understand that there is no return once he becomes hooked and yet he overlooks that. That study ought to be made. I think this whole field should be studied, but I am afraid I didn't have the jurisdiction to get beyond television. We couldn't have raised the money if I got beyond that. Then I would have to compete with every other committee of the Congress.

Dr. Pinderhughes. I would like to conclude my statement with my own personal beliefs, my own paranoia, which differs a little from the central thrust of the committee report. My personal position is that television is the principal instrument we have for promoting existing nonpathological group-related paranoia positions and also for correcting these. I am convinced that some televised violence has produced destructive behavior, which would not have occurred without the televised content.

Also I am convinced that some televised violence has produced constructive behavior which would not have occurred without the televised content. The more violence is portrayed, as it is in real life, with the pain, destruction, death and bereaved people conveying both sudden violence with victims and perpetrators, and the slow, processed, institutional violence which creates milions of victims without perpetrators, the more we see it like it is, the more we will do about not only televised content, but about the real thing in real life where it counts.

Removing real life violence from TV might be a grave error. It just might rob us of important feedback mechanisms that we need. At that point it might be that violence out of sight might be out of our minds and we could then continue our violent human behavior without interruption.

My only recommendation is that whatever is done include the participation of substantial minority persons.

Senator Pastore Thank you very much, Doctor.

Do you have any questions, Mr. Baker?

Senator Baker. Mr. Chairman, there are so many questions as to your statement and the previous statement by Dr. Siegel, and it is so late, I wouldn't dare to try to put them now, except to say that I think the addendum you have offered to the report is a very valuable addition to the report. I am very grateful for it and I look forward to a chance to explore this at a later time.

Senator PASTORE. If we have any other questions for any individual here, we will submit them in writing and you can answer them in writing and we will put them in the record.

Dr. Rubinstein.

Dr. RUBINSTEIN. We have three more members of the committee, Senator Pastore. Dr. Cisin is next, then Dr. Coffin, and then Dr. Mendelsohn.

Dr. CISIN. I am Ira Cisin, George Washington University, here in Washington. I do not have a prepared statement.

I have some thoughts on some of the things that have been said, and some of the subjects that were mentioned to me when I was invited to be here.

The question arose in earlier discussions of how many children are affected, and I find that I cannot answer that question. I am a statistician, by training, and it is a question that I would like to answer. I find I cannot answer it, and I don't think the committee report does answer it, and I don't think it can, for which we apologize, or at least I apologize for the committee. We were, after all, a scientific advisory committee. Our orientation was evaluative. We had very little control over the research that was done.

In fact, as Dr. Rubinstein emphasized, the researchers worked on their own. We reviewed the research that was done. We tried to integrate, we tried to find the scientific hard conclusions that we could agree to.

This report has been referred to several times as a compromise report. In a sense it would have been a compromise if we had been writing about our opinions. To the extent that we tried to summarize and integrate a body of data, it was not a compromise, it was something we all agreed to. You should know that we were faced with a mass of findings, thousands and thousands of findings.

Now if a person aproaches a mass of findings, in order to build a case, he can pick out the little bits and pieces of those findings, and build his case. That is not what we were trying to do, we were trying to find the communalities, the agreed upon things we could agree upon that were contained not in the assertions of the researchers, but in their data.

I might say that this was a very frustrating task. The work on this committee was educational, instructive, enlightening, but terribly frustrating.

It was made frustrating by several factors, not necessarily in this order of importance.

We did not have complete data from every one of the studies. As you will find when you read the studies, a great deal more information was collected than was reported. We noted that in our report.

We were looking for consistency in the findings. Well, we had a hard time with consistency, and this has to do with the question of numbers.

One report tells us that the effect is unique to boys, that there is no effect for girls.

Another report side by side with it, being read at the same 2 a.m. in the morning, tells us that the effect is stronger for girls than it is for boys. How shall we handle that sort of thing? Sometimes the findings are upside down.

When we say people become more aggressive, children become more aggressive, become implies change. When we look at some of the changes that are reported, we find a rather difficult set of findings, in which sometimes the change that is reported is in the direction of less aggressiveness.

Sometimes the change that is reported is in the direction of less aggressiveness, even among those who are exposed to violent TV, but if we search it out, if we dig a little deeper, we find that they become less aggressive—this is a very hard one, I am sorry about that sentence structure—but that the decline in aggressiveness is less among those exposed to violence than among some selected group, not necessarily among all of the others, but some selected group.

OK, we are aware of something called the regression effect, and we say OK, something is going on here. It is this kind of thing, I would say, gentlemen, this kind of thing that made this work frustrating.

And you will hear—I am speaking in advance of those who many criticize the report, but I want to make it clear that this was not an easy report to write.

We had difficulty further with measures. We all speak of violence and sometimes we even get around to defining what we are talking about. Frequently we don't.

My family was teasing me about the most violent TV show we ever saw, was at Christmastime, a show about two kids dressed up in what had to be hippie clothing, going out in the woods and trashing up some old lady's house, and then finally burning her before she ate them. This was Hansel and Gretel. That was a pretty violent show. And yet is that what we are talking about? I say this not—I don't know the philosophic answers to such questions. My reference, however, is to the measures that are used. What was violent? Was football considered violent in these studies?

More important, the measures that were used in some of the studies of aggressiveness gave us pause. I have not heard yet, so I will add this fact, again this is covered in the report, what about functional aggressiveness? How much aggressiveness is desirable? Is all aggressiveness bad? Well, obviously from some of the measures that were used in these studies, not all aggressiveness was bad.

Some of the things that were classed as aggressive were things that we would teach our children to do. Some of them were horrendous, heinous things. But this distinction has not been made, and I would plead that this distinction be made.

To come back to this business of a mass of findings from which one can build a case if one wants to, you can pick the individual findings and say these are the important ones, and that is your case. Now as you know from your reading of the report, the great majority of the findings on this relationship were very small, there were a few very large ones. Now we come to a scientific dilemma. When that happens, from one's statistical point of view, one would say, well, if you are sampling from a mass of data, certainly some of your observations would turn out big and some of them would turn out small. That is one point of view.

Another point of view says, and I don't know how to choose between those points of view, this is part of the frustration, the other point of view says isn't it remarkable that will this unclarity and all of this unreliability, that anything should emerge. There must be something there, if something emerged.

But that there must be something there is a feeling that emerged from this committee after reviewing all of the information. How big it is, I wouldn't venture to say.

Senator PASTORE. But it is there.

Dr. CISIN. Something is there, yes.

Senator PASTORE. I mean if you were in my position, Doctor, at this juncture, you wouldn't say let's sweep it under the rug, would you?

Dr. CISIN. Absolutely not.

Senator PASTORE. That is the point I am making. There is something here that is of tremendous concern.

Dr. CISIN. Yes.

Senator PASTORE. Naturally, of course, we can't be precise in every particular area. But from your participation in this, from the discussion, from the reading of all of the research reports, you reach a conclusion that there is something there. That something needs to be done. Isn't that so?

Dr. CISIN. Yes, sir. Of course, the difficult question is what.

Incidentally, may I ask, sir, that in connection with the methodological, the problem of interpretation of some of the data, I received a copy of a letter from Dr. Pool, sent to Dr. Leflowitz, I believe he sent a copy to Senator Pastore, and I would ask that that letter be inserted in the record. It saves my time in going over it again.

Senator PASTORE. We will put it in the record, yes.[4]

Dr. CISIN. I want to second something you said, and I believe the committee agreed when you said one of the problems faced by this committee, one of the frustrations was an error in the mechanism for appointing the committee, that it was unfortunate that the then Surgeon General saw fit to permit veto power by anyone. I don't, I'm sorry, I don't agree that veto power should be an adversary procedure, that there are two sides to an issue and both sides should veto.

I think the Surgeon General cannot escape responsibility for appointing his own advisory committee, and I would say it was equally unfortunate or that the error was compounded by the persons who chose to exercise the veto power. I think they made a grave error.

Now in connection with the report, I have not seen any of the documents that have been circulated, some of which Congressman Murphy put in the record this morning, any of the documents that have been circulating about our report. I have seen only press reports to the extent that the press reports are accurate. There are a couple of things in the press reports that are in my opinion inaccurate.

First, we are accused of misinterpretation of the material. Well, frequently in trying to, as I said before, in trying to integrate one research report with another, it was necessary to go back to the data of both research reports and find out what they could tell us in common.

We are accused of a whitewash. I think anyone who accuses this committee of a whitewash simply has not read the report. We were accused of forming cliques, and I don't recall cliques. I recall a good deal of individual discussion.

As Dr. Pinderhughes said, we could have written 12 reports, and they would not have all been alike. I think the most humorous aspect of the criticism was that somehow the persons who had large or small industry connections managed to hoodwink the others into signing a report that was not critical of the television industry. I can say that, well, I say there was no hoodwinking, and knowing the people on the committee, I wouldn't try to hoodwink any of them. They are a tough-minded bunch, and I don't think anyone on this committee signed a report he didn't agree with.

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[4] The letter referred to appears at p. 91.

I want to turn to the question of what can be done about it. And I think Dr. Steinfeld implied a distinction that I think is rather important. There is a very, the field of science is on one side of the fence, the field of action is on another side of the fence. Science is fundamentally conservative, science requires demonstration. The whole hypothetical deductive method implies the burden is on the asserter.

Science is, as I said, fundamentally conservative. Action, that is public health action, frequently does not wait for that final scientific nail to be driven. Public health action has to proceed from less than final evidence.

Having said that, what sort of action is implied? I have heard various suggestions here. I don't know whether I fully agree or disagree with all of them.

I have heard one suggestion, both from Dr. Steinfeld and Dr. Pool, that I would clearly second, and that is—if I am misinterpreting exactly what they said, perhaps that is selective perception—but they seem to say the role of the parents should be emphasized. It alarms me that in a society where we pride ourselves on the exercise of free choice, in such a society, I must admit, sir, I am alarmed that both our social scientists and our civic leaders assume that only Government and only the TV industry can do anything about the television fare that enters our home.

We seem to somewhere have lost the on-off switch and it is a very powerful switch. Parents have the power to control the television that their children watch. Now parents exercise that power in a great many other fields. If you, as a parent, feel that some particular food, not a poison, but some particular food could be harmful in certain quantities, you either restrict the consumption of that food by your child, or you restrict the quantities.

Senator PASTORE. But by the same token, have you ever tried to take a lollipop away from a child?

Dr. CISIN. It is a very tough job, but somehow in such an area as food, we manage to withstand the tantrums that kids can throw. When it comes to TV, I think we have given in. If we can withstand the tantrum with the lollipop, we can withstand the tantrum with the TV show, if we, as parents, feel—I must admit that my kids are grown now, but when my kids were little, in the early days of TV, I made it a point to watch the shows that they were watching.

Senator PASTORE. Yes, and you are absolutely right about that, if you only knew in advance what the program was. The only trouble is oftentimes, you see, a child has already seen it before you get an opportunity to shut it off. Now if you only knew in the beginning just the kind of program it was, you would just say to the child that television set is not going to go on. I agree, there should be more discipline. That is the way we raised our family.

Dr. CISIN. I remember watching the shows with the kids and restricting their TV diet. I was not particularly concerned about violence at the time, but I was concerned about trash.

I was concerned about the utter waste of time. And it can be done. I don't think it can be done universally, but I think if parents are convinced, to the extent that parents are convinced, they have an enormous power and they should use their judgment about the programs.

Many programs are in series and you know what the tone of the series is. If you watch one week, one issue of it, whatever it is called, you know what is coming next week.

Now, I think this is a power that the parents have that they don't realize, because if it is true that the TV industry is run by the ratings, then the parents have it within their power to exercise complete control by producing lower ratings for the shows that they don't want.

I thank you very much for the opportunity to be here today.

Senator **Pastore**. We just got word there may be a vote at 1:30. I was trying to finish this group of witnesses, because I wouldn't want to bring you back as a group, you are all very busy people.

Dr. **Rubinstein**. Senator, both Dr. Coffin and Dr. Mendelsohn were noted for making succinct and brief statements during the various committee meetings and I suspect they will do that this time.

Senator **Pastore**. Let's try it.

Dr. **Coffin**. I was asked by the cameraman if I might change places with Dr. Pool, they want to get me on the film.

Senator **Pastore**. That is a profile we want to see on TV.

Dr. **Coffin**. My name is Thomas Coffin, Vice President in charge of Research for the National Broadcasting Company.

Much of what I had thought to say here has already been said and said much better by other members of the committee.

So, at this hour, let me be brief and try not to be repetitive.

The thing I would like to say is that in the process of this committee's work I have come to have a great deal of respect, and if I may say so, a lot of affection also for the members of this committee. They are really professional people.

I think the committee benefited tremendously from the wide breadth of variety and backgrounds in the membership of it.

Now, this morning under your aegis they have been discussing future steps and implications. I just want to say that I am particularly glad that this has been the case, and I have listened with particular interest to what they have had to say, because in our discussions in the committee, we did not have much opportunity to discuss this sort of thing.

Our attention, as you know, had been directed away from the area of recommendations to other areas. So I had not before this had the benefit of hearing these people, whom I respect, suggest ideas which to me have sounded very constructive, very creative, very thoughtful.

I have been listening very hard and I have a lot now to go home and think about.

I appreciate that opportunity.

Senator **Pastore**. Do you agree with this idea that there should be some action taken?

Dr. **Coffin**. I think that, yes, I would agree with that. I think that we have at NBC, at any rate, been trying progressively, as the seasons have gone by, to really do two things, one, to minimize the sort of violence which we felt would be harmful in the character, and, two, to put progressively more and more programs in our schedule which would have a professional effect.

Senator **Pastore**. Any questions?

I may come back for another question if we have time.

Dr. Mendelsohn?

Dr. **Mendolsohn**. Thank you. In terms of the time pressures at hand——

Senator **Pastore**. Don't get excited until you hear the long ring of the bell. You can keep talking until then.

Dr. **Mendelsohn**. I was going to say, as Dr. Rubinstein said, we had a reputation for being succinct, this was a cue to cut it down. I do have one or two comments that I think might be of interest beyond what has been said heretofore on the various topics under discussion. One has to do with quantity.

We have been batting this concept about and how much is much, and how little is small, and so forth. This was the kind of debate that can go on ad infinitum. It is also a debate that occurs in another context, where the issue of quantity seems to arise, and that is a cliche that we hear constantly regarding both the amount of hours spent by children and the amount of "violence content," and we must keep in mind that we are talking about entertainment fare, as if we knew what the relationship between exposure to lengthy periods of time with a good amount of violence has a direct bearing and effect. Unfortunately the studies that were undertaken under this program were done quite independently, the amount of content was divorced from any relationship to a study regarding whether more or less content is conducive to more or less kind of behavioral manifestations on the other end.

We simply, in my estimation, cannot go on assuming that simple exposure to a lot of stuff is related to effect. If we did that, all we would have to do is take a look at Sunday school attendance and say that people who have been exposed to a good deal of Sunday school, Bibical and other kinds of religious training, necessarrily have to be prosocial in their activity for the rest of their lives. I think there is some indication that this is not always true. I would like to turn to——

Senator **Pastore**. But if you dwell in a den of thieves, you might come out a crook?

Dr. **Mendelsohn**. It depends on how much and how long. This aside for the moment, I don't want to comment on the number of proposals that have already been suggested, and perhaps add one or two of my own.

I think, even though as Dr. Siegel points out, we do have some appreciation of the role of parental guidance. In the subsequent manifestation of violent behavior on the part of some children, the problem that I am concerned with is what determines good or bad parental guidance. When we are talking in a large societal context, we are talking about how our institutions are functioning, whether our children are getting adequate housing, adequate nutrition, adequate education, as well as adequate parental guidance.

Now it seems to me Congress has before it a mandate to take a look at all of the institutional inputs into what makes the child a healthy child, as well as relating it to specific exposure to specific kinds of media. Perhaps we may find that the media have a role, but a rather remote role in terms of some more serious kinds of violence-producing experience that our children go through.

I am reminded of the problems that we have with drop-outs in our schools, who we then say we have to do something about censoring our schools in order to control that particular kind of "violence" that some childern experience. Perhaps this is so, perhaps not.

On the matter of parental control, I certainly would agree with my colleagues who feel that perhaps a very important input into the system would be more emphasis on the role of parents, but I would go a little beyond that. Whatever failures there were, the lower educational institutions, the primary and secondary schools particularly, is that we have a deemphasis on training children in school in the area of mass media.

We are still talking about Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm and Robinson Crusoe and so forth, but we do very little in terms of developing children. It would seem to me we have an opportunity here in our schools to orient our kids to what is good quality, what is bad quality, what is violence, and what is not, what should be attended with some degree of seriousness and what should be avoided.

I certainly would endorse the notion of an emphasis on pro-social programing and I think we ought to underwrite that. We really don't know a good deal about what goes on in terms of exposure to so-called pro-social programing. In the old days this used to be called art. We always asumed that the good novel and the good play and the good painting and so forth somehow was a favorable kind of experience in terms of broadening people's horizons and this is an assumption.

We know as little about that process as we do about the process we have been talking about. One can make some assumptions, however. If it is true that we can learn by imitation with regard to violence, then it should also be true that the same process would hold for social, pro-social experiences as well.

If we learn cognitively about kinds of behaviors, we also should learn cognitively about positive kinds of behaviors. Part of the problem that we face is that the charge is always titled, it was always titled in terms of a negative aspect of media content, with almost a total disregard for the nonnegative or pro-social aspects of the media.

I certainly also would endorse the recommendation made by some of my colleagues on the committee today in regard to a very strong support for public broadcasting. This is something the Congress has in its power to do. Those bills are being debated right now and the prospect actually doesn't look too good.

If we are really talking about alternatives, then, we should start taking a very serious look at this particular public alternative as a way out of the dilemma regarding commercialism and the aspects of profit-making and so forth.

Thank you.

Senator **Pastore**. Thank you very much.

You heard that long ring. That is the vote going on. I will turn the meeting back to you, Dr. Steinfeld, and Dr. Rubinstein. Is there anything further you want to say?

Dr. **Steinfeld**. I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Senator Baker, first of all, for asking for the report, and secondly for what I think has been a most productive morning.

Senator **Pastore**. Thank you very, very much. I want to thank you all for coming. If it becomes necessary, we will be in touch with you further.

Without objection the following letters and statements will be made part of the hearing record at this time:

Percy H. Tannenbaum, University of California, Berkeley.

Ralph Garry, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Ontario, Canada.

Prof. Rose K. Goldsen.

Dr. Anthony F. C. Wallace, University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. Thomas F. Baldwin, Michigan State University.

Dr. Monroe M. Lefkowitz, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene.

Prof. Ithiel de Sola Pool, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Professor psychology, Irving L. Janis, Yale University.

Robert M. Liebert and John M. Neale, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Tomorrow morning, we will meet at 10 o'clock. The first witness will be the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Dean Burch.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 1:40, the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Wednesday, March 22, 1972.)

(The letters and statement referred to follow:)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
Berkeley, Calif., March 2, 1972.

MR. NICHOLAS ZAPPLE,
Communications Council, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR NICK: Thank you for your note of February 25 and for the copy of Volume II of the technical reports of the Surgeon-General's Advisory Committee which you sent along under separate cover. I look forward to the additional volumes as they become available.

As I indicated to you at the meeting in Palo Alto, I would be glad to appear before the Committee on Communications during its hearings scheduled for March 21–24, but unfortunately I will be out of the country at that time. I assume there will be quite a number of groups and individuals who will be called by committee and who will petition for appearances, and accordingly that the hearings may be resumed after the Easter congressional break. I will be back in the conutry by April 5 and back in Berkeley by April 7 (the interlude will be spent at a conference in Charleston, S.C.) and could be available any time after that date in the event the hearings are indeed resumed.

I think that after the meetings in Palo Alto you have a pretty fair idea of my views on the entire matter. Just for your interest, I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to Representative John M. Murphy in reply to his letter to me earlier this month. I am not sure of his motives in all this, or of any questions of committee jurisdictions, but I thought his request for my reactions did merit an honest reply.

It was indeed very nice seeing you again, and I expect we will bump into each other again in the relatively near future. It will be a distinct pleasure for me. If the occasion arises for you to be out on the West Coast again, please do let me know ahead of time. Among other things, I would very much like to invite you to our School and have you give an informal address to our faculty and student body regarding your experiences in legislative development and policy formation activity on the Washington scene. I think you can give some invaluable insights for the benefit of our students.

Sincerely,

PERCY H. TANNENBAUM, *Professor.*

P.S. The more I think of it, the more I believe the testimony I gave before the Violence Commission several years ago still represents my own position on this entire issue. I might phrase matters somewhat differently today, but I believe the essential point made regarding the doubtfulness of total evidence ever being in hand and the necessity to take some action nevertheless would still stand today. Since I did not speak from a prepared text I do not have an exact copy of my remarks. But the last publication of the Violence Commission does, I believe, contain an edited version of my more-or-less spontaneous remarks, and if you are interested you may want to refer to that document.

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
Ontario, Canada, March 7, 1972.

Mr. Nicholas Zapple.
Communications Counsel, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Nicholas Zapple: I appreciate your thoughtfulness in forwarding the Surgeon General's report on TV violence and particularly the first volume of the technical papers. It was difficult to judge the research from the general statements in the report.

Unfortunately I shall be out of the country on March 24, thus will be unable to appear personally before the Committee.

Given the emerging controversy over the interpretation of the research report, I would recommend an independent review of the research. My recollection is that a similar approach was adopted with respect to the research on smoking and cancer.

An Advisory Panel should be established to evaluate the research and the findings. Professional organizations such as The American Psychological Association or The American Sociological Association could be invited to nominate a list of qualified scientists from whom the panel could be selected. It goes without saying that the TV networks should not be represented or have power of selection.

Given the complexity of the social and environmental problems, definitive research results are unlikely; hence some kind of qualified judgment in interpreting data is needed. Competent Advisory Panels can fulfill this function.

One can identify limitations in nearly any piece of research in the social sciences—but that is a game for social scientists to play among themselves in their effort to improve methodology. From society's viewpoint, it needs to know if the research questions or hypotheses were germane to the issue? Were they posed in a way permitting an answer? Was the methodology appropriate and the best currently available? And what is the significance of the results.

Enclosed you will find a copy of a speech delivered a year ago which may be of interest because it reports on the work (or lack of it) of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children. Wiebe, Coffin, and Klapper served on this committee. Given the views expressed in the paper, it was probably appropriate that I was excluded from the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee. But the exclusion should have been by act of the Surgeon General, not the TV networks. I don't concur in the exclusion of the remaining six panelists.

I will be interested in what ensues from your hearings, which to me is one more round in the struggle for social responsibility.

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Garry,
Professor and Chairman, Department of Curriculum.

Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.,
March 10, 1972.

Sciences in Wonderland

Analysis of *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence.* Report to the Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, from The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972; and of the studies commissioned by this committee, in *Television and Social Behavioral* (5 volumes) Washington: Government Printing Office 1972.

Rose K. Goldsen,
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology.

When you turn on your television set, you see mainly formula shows, and violence is their principal ingredient. (1) There are many among the American public who object to this saturation of our airwaves by violent "shows." Ostensibly responding to this concern, and prodded by Senator John O. Pastore who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Communications of the Senate Commerce Committee, the Surgeon General of the United States established in 1969 an Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. Its mission: "To study the effects of television on social behavior, with its focus on the effects of televised violence on the behavior, attitudes, development and mental health of children." (p. 231.)

The committee began its work on June 16, 1969. In its two years of operation

it has commissioned one million dollars worth of research. The first product of the group, ***Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Television Violence,*** summarizes the principal findings. The present article evaluates this report as well as the researches on which it is based. (2)

Here is the main finding of two years of research: "A preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior; an indication that any such causal relation operates only on some children . . . and an indication that it operates only in some environmental contexts." (p. 19)

This remarkable statement—followed, of course, by the usual plug for more research of the same kind—does not say much about "social behavior, attitudes, development and mental health of children." It says nothing about American television. I'd like to begin with the *why* of these two important oversights.

How the Committee Was Stacked: A Phony Directive . . .

The moment this committee was set up, the television industry won an important battle in the long war it has been waging against American culture and a free electronic press. The very statement of this committee's *raison d'etre* guaranteed that the glaring light of scientific inquiry would be beamed away from systematic examination of how our electronic press is meeting its obligations to the American people and American children. Instead, it turned that searchlight on examination of what makes children tick: their tastes, their personality quirks, their attitudes, their values, their motivations, their IQ's, why they watch television, what they like and dislike about which programs, their reaction to commercials, and so on.

The statement of purpose ensured that the committee would boast no member versed in constitutional law and the body of theory and precedent that define the role of the press in a free society. No historian; no journalist or humanist or civil libertarian who had dedicated himself to such concerns either as a scholar or as a victim of press repression. The committee was staffed instead by experts in child development, psychiatry, psychology, and that kind of sociology which dedicates itself to the survey research on audiences that is the Dow-Jones of the television industry. The free press foundations of the issue were thus completely bypassed.

Television is our electronic press. But the report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee makes not one reference to it as such. There are many mentions of "television entertainment," "fictional violence," "dramatic entertainment on television," and the like. The report accepts uncritically that television's "self-chosen primary role (is) to entertain," (p. 39)—as if such fare were trivial; as if the fact that our airwaves are saturated with formula shows and standardized images exempts television from its obligations to serve us as our electronic press.

Nowhere does the report mention that the stories and myths and tall tales and fantasies that have fascinated children since the beginning of time are an age-old primary source of the mental roadmaps all societies provide to help orient their children to the loyalties, standards, judgments and values of their society and of their own cultural heritages.

(*Scenario:* Imagine that our public libraries offered the same range of cultural materials that television offers to our children; the public protests; they are asked to allay their concern pending a million dollars worth of research to determine scientifically whether the children selecting books from this limited range of offerings suffer any harmful effects from reading them!)

The ladies and gentlemen of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee ignored this major problem in existing television entertainment for children. Instead, they voted to commission research centering around the question: "If children see violent or aggressive action on television, will their own behavior become violent or aggressive?" (Notice the similarity to socialist realism: if a red-cheeked maiden is shown cuddling up to a tractor, will agricultural production increase?)

*. . . **And Rigged Membership***

Not content with this important advantage, the television industry went one step further. They rigged the committee. Representatives of the National Association of Broadcasters and of two of the three networks (3) blackballed seven proposed members who were not sympathetic enough to the industry viewpoint to guarantee their objectivity in deciding what studies should be conducted and who should conduct them.

Thus, psychologists Leonard Berkowitz (Univeristy of Wisconsin) and Albert Bandura (Stanford University)—whose research has consistently shown a link between exposure to violent stimuli and aggressive behavior—were blackballed. Professor Ralph Garry (University of Toronto) was blackballed. As consultant to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency (1961–62) he had documented practices which the network executives considered embarrassing: namely, that they hold decisionmaking power over network program content. Sociologist Leo Bogart was blackballed. As executive vice president of the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, he represents a competing medium. (4)

The objectivity of committee members Joseph A. Klapper, Thomas E. Coffin, Ira Cisin, Harold Mendelsohn and Gerhard D. Wiebe was not questioned. Dr. Klapper is Director of Social Research at CBS. Dr. Coffin is Vice President for Research at NBC. Dr. Cisin and Dr. Mendelsohn are consultants to CBS. Dr. Wiebe, now dean of Boston University's School of Communication, is a former CBS executive and former chairman of the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children. The Joint Committee, dominated by the networks and funded generously by them (*and* the government *and* the Ford Foundation) had also been directed to stimulate and conduct similar research. "In the seven years of its existence, for whatever reason, no reports or recommendations have been forthcoming," wrote Senator Pastore to Secretary Robert Finch (March 5, 1969).

Let it be clear that only the networks and their trade association, the NAB, were given this veto power by the Surgeon General over nominations. No other interest group or professional group was granted equivalent power. And it was in the letter explaining this veto power that we find—in all 85 pounds of material produced by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee—the only reference to the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. "This special procedure," said Attorney General Jesse L. Steinfeld testifying before the Pastore Committee on September 28, 1971, "was carefully considered and used to prevent any charges that the Government was intimidating that industry or violating the First Amendment rights of that industry." (5)

Having made certain that the scientific inquiries would examine our children but not our television; having ensured that the advisory committee was well infiltrated by members beholden to the industry; now the committee was in a position to conduct its business. That business: to stimulate and fund a million dollars worth of research useful for providing thesis material and journal articles for academics, useful to the research organizations of networks and advertisers, but useless for enlightening public policy on American television.

A Hooper Rating for Who Deserves Mental Health

The causal relation between violence on television and aggressive behavior, the report tells us, operates only on some children and only in some environmental contexts, "only in certain subgroups of children, who might constitute a small proportion or a substantial proportion of the total population of television viewers." (p. 123)

By the standards of this committee, this statement is, of course, a grave indictment of those who deliver television fare into our homes. But its import is not pursued. Which children? Which contexts? Mentally defective children in institutions? Delinquents or pre-delinquents? Deaf children? Bedridden children? Children who can't learn to read? Lonely children?

We'll never know. Such subgroups were deliberately excluded from research attention. The Committee decided that these kinds of children are deviant, they are statistical minorities; whatever harm television might be doing *them*, does not, therefore, deserve study.

Keep in mind that the committee accepts the principle—repugnant to the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution—that the policy for television should be determined by wise men who decide whether the content of our electronic press produces harmful effects on the mental health of children who rely on it. But not even all children—only "normal" ones.

And what about the "non-deviant" children whose mental health *does* deserve concern? Well, as long as the proportions of normal children whom television may damage does not exceed a certain limit, the Committee feels that the country can relax. "The real issue is quantitative" (p. 7). "The real issue is how often." (p. 6).

Look, Ma, No Television:

The bibliography generated by this group includes sixty-one references. Leaving aside for the moment methodological studies, testy interchanges among the scholars, and summaries or research reviews, I count 53 separate investigations. Of these, only five look at anything at all about American television. (Baldwin & Lewis; Cantor; Gerbner a, b; and parts of Clark & Blankenburg.) Three more look at comparative television systems (Dahlgren; Halloran & Croll; Shinar) providing a welcome baseline against which Americans can evaluate the Alice-in-Wonderland-like structure we have evolved for the vastest and most influential press operation any single country has known since the dawn of civilization.

The rest of the studies examine children, adolescents and adults—their age, their sex, their socio-economic status, their religion, their family patterns, their viewing habits, their leisure-time activities, their reactions to black and white versus color television, their understanding of commercials, and so on. Facial expressions were filmed as they watched television. Children and adolescents were marched into experimental laboratories and out of them. Public schools turned their classrooms over to the experimenters and testers. Children were wired up to electrodes that measured their electrogalvanic skin reflexes and brain waves. They were even waked up in the middle of the night and asked to recount their dreams!

Certain "anti social attitudes, values and behaviors" were also measured.

Thus, with the notable exceptions noted on page 9, the studies commissioned by this committee did not probe the extent to which television networks and stations preempt our airwaves every day to beam incessantly into our homes formula shows that depend for their punch on violence. Nor did the committee probe the practices that monopolize and limit the variety of cultural materials made available to our publics—the major policy point at issue. Instead the committee concentrated their efforts upon examining reactions.

Reactions to what? To some kind of cockamamie stimuli held to be equivalent to a lifetime of television watching. Even the alleged effects of these stimuli are, by definition, obscured and counfounded by *caveats. Of course* their impact cannot be isolated from the competing effects of every other kind of personal history variable that likewise contributes to *any* behavior, *any* value, *any* attitude of *any* born and socialized human being, whether he is seven or seventy.

I hasten to add here that all the studies of "effects" and "reactions" are in the best tradition of those branches of experimental social psychology and sociological surveys that claim to investigate the behavioral and attitudinal accompaniments of exposure to violent stimuli. The point is that the tradition itself is worthless for this purpose.

When To Act and When to Commission a Study Group

I shall reluctantly assume for the moment the frame of reference of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee in order to summarize briefly the principal irrelevancies of the studies it commissioned. I say, "reluctantly," because the notion that a television broadcast exercises its main effect directly on a viewer is simply nonsense. Pollutants belched by chimneys into the air do not directly degrade lungs; they degrade the atmosphere: your lungs take their chances. In the same way, a steady diet of formula television beamed simultaneously into millions of homes does not directly degrade minds. It degrades cultural atmosphere, depriving it of the variety our democratic institutions need in order to function, that our children's imaginations need in order for their minds to grow and develop: your children take *their* chances.

But I must accept for the moment the simplistic heuristic model underlying these studies in order to demonstrate that *even in their own terms* the research commissioned by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee is not the stuff that can inform wise social policy for television.

Experimental Studies and the Suspension of Belief

The experimental research commissioned by the committee is exquisitely irrelevant to its own stated objectives.

None of these experiments adequately standardizes the stimuli whose effects they claim to measure. The general pattern is: expose an experimental group to a television or film stimulus characterized as "violent." Expose a control group to other stimuli characterized as "non violent" or "less violent" or even "pro-social." Then ask the groups to perform some task. Note whether the task-performance of the two groups differs. If there are differences, ascribe them to the "violence" of the stimulus. If there are no differences, the claim is made that the effect of "violence" cannot be proved.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, the stimuli in question vary from each other in innumerable ways, any one or more of which—alone or in combination—might have produced observed differences in outcome, or might be concealing differences that real standardization could have revealed. But the experimenter asks the reader to believe that the observed outcomes are due only to the "violence" of the complex content of the stimulus.

Thus, we are asked to make believe that *Batman* is identical to *Superman;* and that both differ from *Misterogers Neighborhood* only or mainly in terms of their violent or "pro-social" content. (Stein & Friedrich) We are asked to make believe that shots of a baseball game and shots from a circus are identical and that both differ from war newsreel shots only or mainly in terms of their violent content. (Feshback) We are asked to make believe that an "aggressive film" which tells a complete story differs from a patched-together "non-aggressive film" that does not maintain a story line, only or mainly in terms of violent content. (Liebert & Baron) Shots from *The Untouchables* are compared with shots from a "sports sequence" as if the only differences between them had to do with violence. (Ekman) We are asked to balance off a 20 minute "violent" film against an 8 minute "non-violent" film. (Leifer & Roberts) *Peter Gunn* is considered a match for *Green Acres.* (Rabinovich & MacLean) An erotic scene from *Body and Soul* is compared with scenes of "shoot-outs." (Tannenbaum) A "non violent" film centers around an offstage murder, a deadly chase through a tunnel and a helpless woman who is approached by an attacker while ominous music plays. (Katzman)

Sometimes the experimental and control groups are exposed to the same stimuli, so that the need for standardization is bypassed. But every one of the experiments in this series requires the same kind of suspension of belief on the part of the reader, nevertheless. For example, here is the television diet which we are asked to make believe "stands for" the television experience of our children.

DURATION OF EXPOSURE TO TELEVISION IN SIXTEEN EXPERIMENTS

From "seconds" to 9 minutes, 20 seconds: 7 experiments (Ekman; Greenberg & Gordon; Leifer & Roberts, Experiment 3; Tannenbaum; Feshback, Experiments 1, 2, 3)

From 20 to 30 minutes: 6 experiments (Clark; Foulkes & Belvedere; Katzman; Leifer & Roberts, Experiments 1, 2; Rabinovich & MacLean)

"Brief excerpts:" 2 experiments (Liebert & Baron; Wackman, Reale & Ward who, by the way, test only commercials).

More than 30 minutes and more than a single day: one experiment (Stein & Friedrich exposed children to television 20 minutes per day, three days a week, over a four-week period).

What about the outcome variables—"the social behavior . . . attitudes, development and mental health of children," that violent television might affect? The "effects" again demand the same kind of suspension of belief. Sometimes we are asked to take into account a child's willingness just minutes after exposure to deliver a painful stimulus to another child by means of a specially constructed noise-machine. (Feshback; Liebert & Baron; Tannenbaum). Or we are asked to believe that a child's willingness to help or hinder someone who (he is told) is trying to win a game, (Ekman) can stand for the kind of reactions that concern the many well meaning Americans who worry about whether television's consistently violent formulas may be harming their children.

Most frequently, however, the "outcome variables" are measured by children filling in questionnaires and check lists. Only one experimental study likewise observes behavior in relatively normal situations, and does so for more than a few minutes after exposure and over more than a single day. (Stein & Friedrich)

The *piece de resistance* of all these studies is the dream research conducted by Foulkes & Belvedere. Forty boys are put to sleep in a laboratory after "about a half hour" of viewing "violent" television. They are hitched up to electrodes. They are waked up after 10 minutes of rapid eye movements indicating that they are dreaming. They are interviewed about their dreams and then allowed to go back to sleep. This procedure is repeated four times during the night.

Finally, the time-lapse between stimulus and subsequent response is negligible. All except two (Katzman: Stein & Friedrich) of these so-called experiments measure the alleged "effects" immediately after exposure to the initially trivial stimulus.

He Says, She says: Hearsay Evidence

The sociological surveys try to correct the deficiencies of the experiments in dealing with short time spans. They try to record long-term exposure to television and "aggressive" or "anti-social" behavior over time. But both exposure and response-patterns are determined by hearsay evidence provided by mothers, teachers or peers who give their opinions on—say—the degree of aggressiveness in the usual behavior of the children studied. Or the researchers may ask the respondents to testify in interviews, questionnaires or diaries concerning their own behavior now and in the past. Such responses are then rated or scaled or compiled in some statistical way into a score that the researcher in his wisdom, declares is indicative of "high" or "low" aggression or exposure or whatever, on the part of the selfsame individual who provided the testimony. (Chaffee & McLeod, Dominick & Greenberg; Friedman & Johnson; Israel & Robinson; Johnson, Friedman & Gross; Greenberg & Gordon; Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder & Huesmann; Lyle & Hoffman; McIntyre & Teevan; McLeod, Atkin & Chaffee; Robinson; Robinson & Bachman; Ward, Levinson & Wackman)

Evidence of this cort unsupported by any outside validation, would not stand up in a court of law—not even a traffic court.

A Government Handout to the Rich

Many of these so-called scientific investigations stimulated and funded by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee were straightforward handouts to the market research divisions of the networks and the advertising agencies. They provide the "demographics" that networks and the agencies rely upon for pinpointing populations especially susceptible to one kind of appeal or another. Many of the commissioned studies produced "demographics" which are much more detailed and sophisticated than usual. Not just details by age and sex and ethnic background and religious affiliation and so on; but family listening patterns and detailed. day-by-day listening diaries; (Murray) Attention to commercials (Ward, Levinson & Wackman; Ward, Reale & Levinson; Blatt, Spencer & Ward; Ward & Robertson; Ward & Wackman). The impact of black and white versus color television. (Katzman) A nationwide sample of adults reports their television viewing behavior. (Lo Sciuto; Robinson & Bachman) Even the so-called methodological studies are useful to the industry. Investigations of the "interchangeability of indices," for example, can save thousand of dollars for market research firms and network research departments by showing which among many costly measurement items are redundant and can safely be dispensed with. (Bechtel, Achelpohl & Akers; Eckman *et al.;* Greenberg, Ericson & Vlahos; Greenberg & Gordon.)

Television and Growing Up?

The summary report's title is an out-and-out misnomer. Here is the distribution of respondents and subjects in the sixteen experiments and twenty-four surveys or studies that rely on questionnaires or interviews with laymen and women. Note that about 43 per cent of all respondents or subjects were junior or senior high school students or college students; and that an additional 31 per cent or so were adults.

1. Children under three	0
2. Pre-school children (under 5)	281
3. Children of kindergarten age (5 or 6 or "in kindergarten")	233
4. Children over 6, up to and including 12; or from first grade up to and including eighth grade [1]	4. 805
5. Junior and senior high school and college students or people of equivalent ages [2]	10, 072
6. Children of unspecified ages	544
7. Adults, mothers, adults in "family interviews" [3]	7. 380
Total	23, 315

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[1] These figures are the closest estimates I could arrive at. Some samples included a span from 8th to 12th grade and 8th graders could not be distinguished from the rest without asking for special runs. I have classified these cases with those in category 5. On the other hand, some samples spanned the fourth to ninth grades, and I have classified these cases in category 4. Any error is minor and probably cancelled out by this procedure. If anything, it understates the number of older children.

[2] Two studies investigated 22 "families." I assumed two parents and two children, classified the parents in category 7 and the children in category 6 above.

[3] Many of these adults gave their opinions on TV exposure of their children, how aggressive they estimated their child or children to be, social behavior, and so on.

"Merely Entertainment"—What's All The Fuss About?

Television is one of the technological innovations that is running away with our culture. It is a quantum jump in communications technology as decisive for the way this society goes as are nondegradable pesticides and detergents, nuclear fission or space explorations. We cede our eyes and ears to television; and the eyes and ears of our children. It is hard to believe that these ridiculous efforts by this task force are our society's serious attempt to confront the grave problems we face in trying to evolve a policy to ensure that television's power fortifies our democratic institutions rather than erodes them.

What does this have to do with Donald Duck and Superman and the commercials for plastic toys that such programs occasionally interrupt? What does it have to do with Matt Dillon and Ben Cartwright and the cops and robbers and cowboys and Indians that preempt our airwaves every day? These "shows" are our electronically transmitted folklore. We are dealing with the massive transmission of the images that children draw upon in developing their judgment-making apparatuses. These images are now standardized, narrow in scope and range; they are repugnant to many families and subcultures. It is their massiveness and their narrowness that is limiting the wellsprings of our children's values, the values they will need if they are to grow up as autonomous men and women in a self-governing society.

Surely, this electronic press no less than our printed press has the obligation to provide the variety in images and ideas and myths and stories that our culture needs. The argument often heard in television and advertising circles, "If you don't like it, turn it off," is simply silly. Television does not compete on an equal footing with sound trucks, mimeograph machines, wall posters, newspapers, libraries, radio. It competes with the family as the principal socializing agency of our children—this massive press operation that enters our homes every day. The issue is not what most normal children can tolerate, but what all children need.

A press that gives us "shows" that run the gamut from A to B is not a free press, whether the limitation is imposed by government censors, by network executives, or by "market forces." "There is no sanctuary in the First Amendment for unlimited private censorship operating in a medium not open to all . . . Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests." (Justice Black in *Associated Press v. United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20, 1945.)

If our children are to be blessed with mental health, they need many things. Among them is variety in the imaginative materials we expose them to in their developmental years. It is this variety, this opportunity to select among varied fare, that should have occupied the attention of this committee. The absence of such variety is what this committee should have called to the nation's attention. Variety of choice is the only sure protection for "what is at stake . . . our most valuable and trusted resources . . . the minds and hearts of our young people." (Senator John O. Pastore, Hearings, September 28, 1971.)

REFERENCES

1. In 1967, you probably saw about five violent episodes per program, about eight per hour. "Children's shows" (a category meaningful to broadcasters) held the lead. They contributed three times as much to that average as the usual "adult show."

When you turned on your television set in 1969, you probably saw about the same number of violent episodes per program. But "adult shows" had been relatively sanitized. They contributed fewer violent episodes to the overall average. "Children's shows," on the other hand, had doubled their contribution to the census of total mayhem. (Gerbner 1971b.)

In 1971 if you tuned in to the Saturday morning ghetto, you probably saw mainly animated cartoons. Approximately three out of ten of their dramatic segments were "saturated" with violence; about 71 per cent had at least one instance of humans engaged in violence. (Barcus 1971.)

2. *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence.* Report to the Surgeon General United States Public Health Service from The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. Washington: Government Printing Office 1972. In addition to this summary volume, all the research commissioned by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee have been published in five volumes entitled *Television and Social Behavior*. Washington: Government Printing Office 1972. The five volumes are:

G. A. Comstock & E. A. Rubinstein (Eds.) Vol 1. *Content and Control.*

J. P. Murray, E. A. Rubinstein & G. A. Comstock (Eds.) Vol 2. *Television and Social Learning.*

G. A. Comstock & E. A. Rubinstein (Eds.) Vol 3. *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness.*

E. A. Rubinstein, G. A. Comstock & J. P. Murray (Eds.) Vol 4. *Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use.*

G. A. Comstock, E. A. Rubinstein & J. P. Murray (Eds.) Vol 5. *Television's Effects: Further Explorations.*

All the studies cited in the text of this article appear in these volumes, except one: P. H. Tannebaum "Studies in Film- and TV-Mediated Arousal and Aggression" appears as a preliminary progress report in volume 5.

3. The two networks were NBC and ABC. Dr. Frank Stanton, then president of CBS, refused the invitation to comment on the suitability of proposed members.

4. The other nominees who were backballed were: Dr. Leon Eisenberg, professor of child psychiatry at Johns Hopkins Medical School; Otto Larsen, professor of sociology at the University of Washington; Percy H. Tannebaum, professor of communication and psychology, then at the University of Pennsylvania. Richard A. Moore, who served as liaison between the Committee and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, came to that post after a twenty-year career as a station executive.

5. Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, Surgeon General, told the Pastore committee that "The procedure was essentially similar to one that was followed in appointing members to the Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health." (Hearings before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce of the U.S. Senate, September 28, 1971) This is not precisely true. While tobacco industry representatives were invited to pass on the composition of that earlier committee, so were their adversary groups, The American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 13, 1972.

Senator JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: Thank you for inviting me to present my views on the Television and Social Behavior report and its implications on March 21, 1972. Unfortunately I must decline because of prior commitments here. I should like to take this opportunity, however, to indicate my support of the report's cautious but definite finding that for some children, televised violence acts as an instigator of anti-social aggressive behavior over a prolonged period of time. I believe, as do others, that there are many other stimuli to unwanted violence in America and I should not want the TV industry to serve as a scapegoat for social ills that have other and perhaps more important roots. Nor do I favor any action which would result in the imposition of government censorship of a public medium. But I do think that it now behooves the TV industry to respond constructively to the clear indication of the need, in the public interest, to reduce the exposure to the nation's children of the more mindless forms of violence on television.

An aspect of the whole problem which received inadequate study is the way in which TV entertainment subtly teaches values about violence—or perhaps teaches an indifference to it. Such possible warping of values may be socially more important, in fact, than the direct instigating effect. I would hope that appropriate federal agencies will be enabled to invest adequate funds in research in this area.

Finally, I should like to say that I have the greatest confidence in the integrity of all the members of the committee including those with affiliations with the TV industry. I have already expressed my concern to Dr. Steinfeld over the way in which the committee was appointed, by allowing a one-sided veto in a matter of controversy which *in principle* seems to me to have been faulty. In this case I do not believe any damage was done but as I indicated to the Surgeon-General, in other situations serious errors might occur if such procedures were allowed.

Sincerely,

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF TELEVISION AND RADIO,
EAST LANSING, MICH.

Senator PHILIP A. HART,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HART: I am writing in regard to "television and violence" which is being considered by the Senate Commerce Committee Subcommittee on Communication. With a colleague, I conducted one of the studies of television and violence under the sponsorship of the Surgeon General. Incidentally, several of the studies in the series were done at Michigan State.

My responsibility was to determine the attitudes and practices of the television industry in the use of violence in television network action-adventure programs scheduled in prime time. While these programs are intended for the general audience, each week the individual programs attract as many as six million children between the ages of two and 11 years of age.

We conducted long interviews with producers, writers, directors and network censors. We discovered that the primary motivation of the production people is to deliver a finished product with enough "action" (used almost synonomously with violence) to stimulate the viewer and hold attention. However, producers are aware of what is an "acceptable" level of violence through the constant reminders to "use extreme caution" by the network censors who review every script and every film.

The network censor is the gatekeeper. He determines the amount and intensity of violence in television. The censor is guided primarily by assumptions he makes about the level of public tolerance for violent content. His job is to protect his network and its chief executives from public criticism.

For a number of reasons, the censor does not concern himself very deeply with the social effects of televised violence. None of the censors is a trained social scientist, and since the social scientists publish conflicting reports on the effects of televised violence, he is not prepared to make a judgment. And, to a degree, social science has failed the censor, by providing tentative, academic reports of findings that are not transferable to the practical circumstances of evaluating violence in the various contexts of television programs.

The Surgeon General's report, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence*, contributions absolutely nothing to the practical needs of the censor, although the studies provide a wealth of information that could lead to a much deeper understanding of the effects of televised violence.

I believe that the entire project for the study of violence, and the one million dollars invested, is wasted unless the findings are written in the form of simple guidelines that are meaningful to the key gatekeeper—the censor. Although some of the findings are tentative, and social scientists tend to be conservative in the interpretation and generalization of their results, the need for specific guidelines is immediate. They can be offered tentatively now, on the basis of present knowledge, with the promise of future refinement.

Everyone in the television industry would welcome guidelines proposed by social scientists. The producers, who believe the censor's present judgments to be arbitrary, would not argue with decisions based on scientific findings they could understand. The censor would be delighted to have concrete guidelines to help him make decisions; guidelines which he could use at any point to defend those decisions.

I am proposing that it is necessary to appropriate an additional, modest sum to support the work of a team of social scientists in translating the massive, technical data of the Surgeon General's studies into meaningful guidelines. In the process, the social scientists should call upon people knowledgeable in the field of television production and upon the censors themselves, who are aware of day-to-day problems.

Obviously, the guidelines could not be forced on the networks and television producers. But they would have to be seriously considered as a matter of public responsibility.

If guidelines for the application of the findings of the Surgeon General are not prepared, if the Congress does not take this additional step, I am convinced that the two-year, million-dollar study of the impact of televised violence will have been an academic exercise, interesting in itself, but of little value to the public good.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS F. BALDWIN,
Associate Professor.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE,
OFFICE OF RESEARCH,
Albany, N.Y., January 27, 1972.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Senate Communications Subcommittee,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior in my opinion ignores, dilutes, and distorts the research findings in their report "Television and Growing Up: the Impact of Televised Violence." As a contributor of one of the technical reports whose study dealt with television violence and aggressive behavior in a causal context, I feel that the Committee's conclusions about the causal nature of television violence are hedged by erroneous statements, are overqualified, and are potentially damaging to children and society. In its treatment of my study, the Committee seemingly includes and excludes data contingent upon whether the data support the Committee's viewpoint.

I was distressed to find that the Committee apparently employs innuendo and insinuation in an attempt to discredit the research findings. More astonishing however, was the Committee's attempt to downgrade the magnitude of the relationship between a diet of early television violence and later adolescent aggression by claiming that the statistical relationship ". . . depends almost entirely on a small number of boys at the extreme high end of the preference scale who scored extremely high on the peer-rated measure of aggressive behavior . . . (p. 154)." The Committee failed to note, avoided, or misinterpreted an analysis of variance of the same data in which mean scores of aggressive behavior in late adolescence are significantly related to preferences for low, medium and high levels of television violence during childhood. The increase in these mean values of aggression is 58 percent as violence preference increases from low to medium and is 102 percent from medium to high. Thus, ten years later, the group preferring a small amount of television violence at age 8 was significantly *less* aggressive than the group preferring a moderate amount of television violence. While the group preferring a large amount of television violence was significantly *more* aggressive than the moderate preference group. Rarely, if ever, does a scientific finding hold for every member of a population. In this case the finding holds for *both* the high and low ends of the preference scale amounting to at least 24 percent of the sample. It is simply untrue, therefore, that the relationship between preferred television violence and aggressive behavior holds only for a extremely small number of boys at the high end of the preference scale for television violence.

The Committee's conclusion ". . . that any such causal relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive;) (p. 19)" is unwarranted in the face of the evidence and potentially harmful in its effect. The data demonstrate that not only is preference for television violence synchronously related to the expression of aggressive behavior but also longitudinally. Now, if predisposition to aggression were involved in these results, one would expect to find a significant relationship between two particular variables in this study: childhood aggressiveness and preference for violent television ten years late. The fact is that this relationship did not occur (r=.01) which argues against an hypothesis of predisposition. However, at no point in the Committee's discussion of predisposition to aggression was this lack of relationship between these two variables noted. Furthermore, when aggressiveness at age 8 is statistically controlled (by partial correlation technique) the correlation between preference for television violence at age 8 and aggressive behavior at age 19 still remains significant. Thus, it is unlikely that predisposition to aggression enters into the causal relation. The danger to children from the Committee's conclusion is that mothers—understandably ready to believe that their children are not predisposed to be aggressive—now have "scientific" license to permit their children a violent television diet.

The first question which must be faced is what event or condition would best account for the Committee's behavior. Since its formation, the Committee has been surrounded by controversy. The spectre of bias in favor of the television industry has been raised and given substance by a well-documented article in *Science*.[1] A former Committee staff member believed that ". . . the scientific independence of this study has obviously been subverted to some kind of political consideration (p. 949)." The article points out that 5 of the 12 appointees to the Committee have close ties with the television industry whereas the industry, seemingly, was able to veto the Committee membership of seven candidates on the basis of their presumed lack of objectivity. In this respect it seems more than coincidental that of the three written critiques I received of my study from Committee members the one which was destructive, and in my opinion irresponsible, was renedered by an individual mentioned in the article in *Science* as having affiliations with the television industry.

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[1] Boffey, P. M., Walsh, J. Study of TV Violence: Seven Top Researchers Blackballed from Panel. *Science*, 1970, 168, 949–952.

If deliberate bias has indeed entered into the Committee's interpretation reporting of the research findings, then a serious fraud has been perpetrated on the American public and particularly on American children.

Sincerely yours,

MONROE M. LEFKOWITZ, Ph. D.,
Principal Research Scientist.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES.
Cambridge, Mass., March 1, 1972.

DR. MONROE M. LEFKOWITZ,
Office of Research, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene,
Albany, N.Y.

DEAR DR. LEFKOWITZ: I am sorry you have felt aggrieved by the Surgeon General's Committee Report, and particularly sorry, that you have chosen to write in a somewhat heated vein on an issue where the statistics unfortunately do not sustain your point. As I read your letter, I kept having a fantasy of Columbus waxing indignant at someone who maintained that the land he had discovered was not the Indies and feeling that his discovery was being derrogated because someone recognized the need to reinterpret what it was.

The fact of the matter is, that the Surgeon General's Committee devoted more space to your study than to any other piece of field work. Clearly the reason was that the correlation you established over a ten year time lag was of seminal importance. We, therefore, looked closely at your data and were compelled by the data to some reinterpretations.

I am afraid that the specific claim that you make, that the key correlation rests upon more than a few respondents at one end of the distribution cannot be sustained by your data. You rest your case on a three step comparison presented in Table 4 of your paper, the essential figures of which I have reproduced in Table 1 accompanying this letter. There we note that as we move from those thirty-one individuals low in TV violence viewing in the third grade to the one hundred and thirty-nine individuals median in that respect and up to the fourteen high in TV violence viewing at the third grade, the aggression score 10 years later moves up steadily from 51 to 81 to 165.

At first glance, that supports your case. However, for good statistical reasons, we on the Committee were not satisfied with that three level break which compares a few odd individuals at each end with a large majority in the middle and we, therefore, asked to see the raw scores on a correlation scatter diagram. We wished to see that data precisely because this issue of whether the effects of TV violence viewing on aggression is a widespread one or one arising in a small albeit significant sub-population rests on the detailed distribution. Unfortunately, you were not able to provide us with the individual data that we desired. You did, however, provide us with a much finer break than the one presented in your table, namely, a ten level by nine level distribution. That shows for each of nine levels of violence viewing at grade 3, which of ten levels of the aggressiveness score (ten years later) a boy fell into. That is not exactly the same thing as the score itself but almost the same. Only trivial differences could arise from using the levels rather than the scores. So taking your Table 4, I have calculated for each of the nine levels of violence viewing the mean level of aggressiveness (ten years later). Those figures are presented in my Table 2 attached to this letter.

You will note there is absolutely no trend in aggressiveness as a result of violence viewing until we reach the sixth level of violence viewing and you will also note that there are only thirty-six individuals of the one hundred and eighty-four who are at the sixth level or higher. The distribution is completely flat through the first five levels and then rises quite strikingly at the end. In short, the distribution sustains the notion that violence viewing may cause aggressiveness among a minority at the highly aggressive end of the population distribution.

How can these results and the results you present in your Table 4 be reconciled? Quite easily. What you did in your earlier analysis was to break the population into three levels, the first level being the thirty-one individuals lowest in violence viewing, the second level being the one hundred and thirty-nine individuals in the second through the sixth levels, and the third group being the fourteen individuals at the three highest levels. To put the breaks at those points was clearly a mistake in judgement for it disguised the abrupt jump at the sixth level. You place twenty-two individuals from the sixth level into the middle group thus causing the impression of a steady rise which a fuller inspection of the data does not sustain.

I am writing you to clarity and hopefully to settle this technical issue of fact on the basis of which you make your charges of bias and onesidedness in the Committee. It is not my intention to go into these further issues here for the arguments on that score are not going to be resolved merely by careful analysis of scientific facts. All I can say is that our Committee tried conscientiously to do the best job it could of stating scientific facts as it found them. It was bound to be displeasing to any one who wanted the plead for a foreordained conclusion one way or the other. Those of us on the Committee will have an opportunity to present our personal conclusions regarding policy implications at Sen. Pastore's hearings. As a Committee, all we could do is report the convergence of evidence (with whatever weakness there might be in it) indicating that there is a causal relationship between violence viewing and aggressiveness. Your study, whatever issues there may be in the detailed interpretation of it, is certainly one of the more important pieces in that convergence.

Sincerely yours,

ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL.

Enclosure.

POOL'S TABLE 1.—MEAN AGGRESSION SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF TV VIOLENCE RATINGS OF PROGRAMS PREFERRED BY BOYS IN 3D GRADE (FROM LEFKOWITZ TABLE 4)

TVVL3	N	Mean AGG13
Low	31	51.39
Medium	139	81.39
High	14	164.64
Total	184	82.67

POOL'S TABLE 2

TVVL3 level	AGG13 N	Mean	
Lowest	31	5.0	
2d	24	5.4	
3d	10	5.7	
4th	41	5.0	
5th	42	5.5	
6th	22	6.4	36
7th	3	7.7	
8th	6	6.0	
Highest	5	9.8	
Total	184		

STATE OF NEW YORK,
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE,
OFFICE OF RESEARCH,
Albany, N.Y., April 6, 1972.

DR. ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL,
Department of Political Science,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR DR. DE SOLA POOL: Permit me to express my appreciation for the additional time you have devoted to the reanalysis of the data which were presented in Table 4 of our study.[1] After careful consideration of the arguments you present in your letter and in "Pool's Table 2," I performed some further analyses. Based on your criticism of my judgment for placing 22 cases in the middle violence viewing group, I reclassified these 22 individuals (at the 6th level in your Table) into the high group. Following this reclassification I performed a two-way analysis of variance of the actual scores. The cell entries in this analysis are aggression scores at age 19 and constitute the dependent variable. These data are presented in Table 4A. This analysis refutes your contention that the relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior rests on a few respondents at one end of the distribution. Even with the shift of the 22 cases to the high violence viewing group there is a very obvious increment in mean aggression scores as television violence viewing increases from low to high. The highly significant *F* test ($F=6.63$, $p=.005$) indicates that a null hypothesis concerning these means cannot be accepted. With this new classification the "few respondents" that you refer to in your letter now constitute 20 percent of the sample at the high and 17 percent of the sample at the low end of the violence continuum.

The high group is statistically significant from the middle ($F=5.83$), but the low group is not so ($F=1.33$). When high and middle are combined, however, the low group is statistically significant from this combined group ($F=7.43$).

On page 2 of your letter, the last sentence in the second paragraph indicates to me that you may not really understand our findings. You state "In short, the distribution sustains the notion that violence viewing may cause aggressiveness among a minority at the highly aggressive end of the population distribution." The reason that the subjects happen to be at this end of the distribution is *not* because they were "predisposed" to be aggressive—a consideration which we have effectively ruled out and which the Committee chose to ignore—but because preference for TV violence viewing in the 3rd grade was the cause of high aggression scores at the 13th. Thus, it is these individuals—whose high aggression scores are produced by violence viewing—who populate the high end of the aggression distribution. Irrespective of the level of aggression in the 3rd grade, violence viewing causes (as demonstrated in our cross-lagged analysis) aggressive behavior when these subjects are in the 13th grade. This effect is seen most clearly in the lower left and upper right cells on Table 4A. When 3rd grade aggression is low and preference for 3rd grade television violence is high, the 13th grade aggression scores are high. When 3rd grade aggression is high and 3rd grade television violence viewing is low, 13th grade aggression scores are low. And this overall pattern is, as I said, highly significant.

To summarize: even when your objection is accounted for, 36 cases comprise *20 percent* of the sample. Contrary to your claim, the mean 13th grade aggression scores do vary in a consistent and statistically significant manner as a function of 3rd grade violence viewing. Violence viewing causes subjects to be placed at the high end of the population distribution for aggression. These subjects were not positioned in this way because they were predisposed towards aggression or because of some other third variable.

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[1] Lefkowitz, M. M., Eron, L., Walder, L. and Huesmann, L. R. Television violence and child aggression: A follow-up study. In G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Television and Social Behavior Vol. 3. Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971.

In your letter you state that my response (to Senator Pastore) was ". . . in a somewhat heated vein. . . ." In my present letter I have attempted to deal with the statistical issues you raise in a dispassionate manner. Now that I have done so, or at least believe I have done so I beg your forbearance while I warm up a bit.

I am puzzled and troubled as to why you and the Committee attempt to demean the findings of our research by the use of such phrases as "a few respondents" or "a few odd individuals." The implication of such phrasing is that because these "few odd individuals" (20 percent) do not fit some "foreordained"—to use your term—ideal distribution, somehow they do not constitute real data and should be derogated by innuendo. It is through such nuances of data interpretation that the influential hand of the television industry is revealed.

The comment in the last paragraph of your letter, concerning the Committee's conscientiousness in doing the best job it could of stating scientific facts as it found them, taxes my credulity. In this regard, I was appalled ot read Matilda Paisley's[2] account of how Drs. Klapper and Cisin—both on the payroll of CBS—shaped the writing of Chapter 7 of the Report which, in large part, focused on our study. She says:

"The *Adolescent Aggressiveness and Television* subcommittee, chaired by Ira Cisin, wrote Chapter 7. Others on the group were Ithiel Pool, Joseph Klapper, Andrew S. Watson, and Thomas E. Coffin. The first draft was written by George Comstock. At the first meeting of this group only Klapper and Cisin were present to meet with Comstock. Pool and Watson were unable to attend. Klapper objected to almost everything in the 32-page draft. He objected to the style, the form, and the interpretation of findings. He brought in pages of specific objections. Cisin supported Klapper. Comstock agreed to rewrite the draft. He again followed the outline of Chaffee's overview paper, but added more documentation. This version ran 65 pages. Cisin and Klapper were still unhappy with the draft and rewrote it. Cisin remodeled the first half. He took the third variable issue and in general downgraded the evidence. Instead of saying what results had been found in studies that included third variables, he implied that the third variables that had been investigated were only a drop in the bucket (which may be true in some ultimate, policy-irrelevant sense). The Klapper and Cisin draft left much of the text the same. However, they recast the findings and conclusions. Pool helped to tone down the Klapper-Cisin draft, eliminating some of the overkill.

When Michael Adler NIMH staff assistant, was asked why people were calling this the "Klapper draft" of the Surgeon General's report, she replied: "Well, let me put it this way. It would have been a very different report if Klapper hadn't been on the Committee. Let me also say that certain people were more interested in seeing that the report was phrased their way than anyone else." This was verified by Comstock, who said that as much as 90 percent of the report revision was made at the insistence of Klapper." (p. 31).

If this is the method by which scientific facts are stated, I wonder how it differs from a statement of unscientific facts The Surgeon General's reversal of his position in his recent testimony before Senator Pastore's Subcommittee is merely ephemeral. The palpable document remaining for parents and others is still the tendentious and misleading report of the Committee. For this reason, the five volumes of research should be reevaluated by an impartial body whose credentials are beyond question.

In conclusion, albeit I disagree with your findings, I sincerely want to thank you for your interest and for your kind comments concerning the "seminal importance" of our study.

Sincerely yours,

MONROE W. LEFKOWITZ, Ph. D.,
Principal Research Scientist.

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[2] Paisley, M. B. Social Policy Research and the Realities of the System: Violence Done to TV Research. First Draft. Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, March, 1972.

TABLE 4A.—2-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: ENTRIES IN CELLS ARE MEAN SCORES ON AGG 13, THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

	TVVL 3			
	H	M	L	
AGG 3 H	165.8 13	116.9 27	60.6 5	45
M	103.3 15	89.5 59	58.7 17	91
L	110.8 8	19.0 31	32.4 9	48
N=	36	117	31	184
Weighted means	127.5	77.1	51.4	

Note: Overall pattern of AGG 13 scores is highly significant; F=6.63, p=.005.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY,
New Haven, Conn., March 27, 1972.

SENATOR JOHN PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: Thank you very much for inviting me to the hearings on the effects of television. Unfortunately, I am unable to come to Washington at that time because of prior commitments here at Yale University.

Like many other citizens who are concerned about the educational and uneducational influences of the mass media on the children and youth of our country, I sincerely hope that your hearings will lead to much needed improvements in the TV fare for children and adults, without jeopardizing the principles of free speech.

Sincerely yours,

IRVING L. JANIS,
Professor of Psychology.

TELEVISION AND CHILDREN'S AGGRESSION: HOW MUCH DO WE KNOW?

(By Robert M. Liebert and John M. Neale, State University of New York at Stony Brook)

On January 17, 1972, Surgeon General Jesse L. Steinfeld released the report of his Advisory Committee on television and children's aggression (*Television and growing up: the impact of televised violence*). The volume is not without ambiguities; a cursory glimpse produced the *New York Times* headline "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth" (January 11th), while Long Island's *Newsday* announced: "TV Linked to Violence in Young" (January 18th). As contributors to the technical reports on which this evaluative volume is based, we are concerned that the actual data and viewpoints with which we dealt not be lost in the swirl.

What Is The Effect Of Viewing Violence?

Two types of studies fell under the purview of the Committee: (1) experimental investigations and (2) correlational (or survey) reports. The Committee's summaries capture well the overall outcome:

> (1) "As matters now stand, the weight of the experimental evidence from the present series of studies, as well as from prior research, suggests that viewing filmed violence has an observable effect on some children in the direction of increasing their aggressive behavior." (p. 109).

> (2) "[The correlational studies] investigated the relationship between exposure to television violence and aggression, employing various measures to do so. Most of the relationships observed were positive, but most were also of low magnitude. . . . On the basis of these findings, and taking into account their variety and their inconsistencies, we can tentatively conclude that there is a modest relationship between exposure to television violence and aggressive behavior or tendencies, as the latter are defined in the studies at hand." (Pp. 177–178).

As is apparent from the Committee's report, the results of experimental and correlational studies are consistent.

How General Is The Effect?

Just as not all people who go to college are successful, no one would expect every child who watches 10 minutes of violence in an experiment to suddenly become more aggressive. We must ask about the pervasiveness of the effect disclosed by most of the recent studies.

Who participated?

The Committee's report states that the observed effect might hold for ". . . a small portion or a substantial proportion of the total population of young television viewers. We cannot estimate the size of the fraction, however, since the available evidence does not come from cross-section samples of the entire American population of children." (p. 12). The term "cross-section sample" has a rather subtle, technical meaning which may lead to possible confusion. The available evidence is based on youngsters from every conceivable type of background—both rural and urban—and has included samples of both middle and lower class children from the North, the South, The Midwest, and the West Coast. No region was unrepresented, no economic group was omitted, and no ethnic group was systematically excluded. One team described their own results as showing ". . . for relatively average children from average home environments continued exposure to violence is positively related to acceptance of aggression as a mode of behavior." The majority of the pertinent investigators whose work came to the Committee's attention might have described their own findings in the same way—and most did.

For whom was an effect actually shown?

The Committee correctly noted that "We did not need research to know that at least an occasional unstable individual might get sufficiently worked up by some show to act in an impetuous way." (p. 6). Thus, appropriately, none of the investigations focused on "unstable individuals." The subjects were almost all normal children from average American homes. Most importantly, the data display a remarkable breadth. They show that almost any child from a normal background may respond to observing television violence by becoming somewhat more aggressive.

Are there only a small number of children who are predisposed to the effect?

At times, for a variety of reasons, each of us is somewhat more or less predisposed to work hard, eat a steak, or go to a football game; likewise, since not every child will become more aggressive after watching a particular sequence of television violence, we might say that some children are more "predisposed" to show the effect at a particular time than others. It is presumably in this vein that we should take the Committee's observation that the causal sequence is very likely applicable only to those who are predisposed to it.

But misunderstandings can arise. Consider, for example, the Committee's description of a study in which ". . . among young children (ages 4 to 6) those most responsive to television violence are those who are highly aggressive to start with—who are prone to engage in spontaneous aggressive actions against their playmates . . ." (p. 12). However, in this investigation, conducted by Dr. Aletha Stein, the Committee's reference to "those who are highly aggressive to start with" apparently refers to fully half of these normal preschool youngsters; those above the midpoint during an initial observation.

Readers could walk away with the misleading impression that the obtained effects are limited to a small percentage of the children in other studies as well. For example, the Committee report described one study in which:

> "[the relationship between] mother's reports of program preferences when the child was about 8 years old and the peer rating of past aggressive behavior when the boy was about 18 years old depends almost entirely on a

> small number of boys at the extreme high end of the preference scale who score extremely high on the peer-rated measure of aggressive behavior . . ." (p. 154).

This statement appears to reflect an inaccurate reading of the data on which it is based. Of 184 boys for whom the investigators shows "break-down" data, 14 showed very high television violence viewing at age 8 and very high levels of aggressive behavior 10 years later. But, and this is the critical point, the 139 boys who viewed a moderate level of violence at age 8 were significantly more aggressive than the remaining 31 boys who viewed little violence at age 8—when the aggressive behavior of these groups was compared 10 years later. In fact, in these latter groups, which account for the remainder of sample, the moderate exposure boys were about 60% more aggressive than those who had little exposure to violent television.

Can The Effects Of These Studies Be Explained By Saying That Both Violence Viewing and Aggression Are "Products of a Third Condition Or Set Of Conditions?"

Without the benefit of pertinent factual information, one might say that watching aggressive television and behaving aggressively are correlated (i.e., go together) simply because some children like to do both. In this case, liking aggression, a so-called "third variable," might explain away some of the data bearing on the effect. It is suggested in the Committee's report that it is almost impossible to discriminate between the "third variable" hypothesis and the hypothesis that TV violence causes aggressive behavior. We are concerned that such statements may be misleading. First, no such suggestion is tenable for the experimental studies; they show a causal relationship that is free of the third variable problem. Second, investigators reporting correlational results to this Committee made effective efforts to ask whether "third variables" accounted for their findings. They often did so by using a statistical technique called "partialing," which subtracts out the effects of third variables. When this is done, most of the evidence for a causal relationship remains. As one team of researchers pointed out:

> "Our research shows that among both boys and girls at two grade levels [junior high and senior high] the more the child watches violent television fare, the more aggressive he is likely to be measured by a variety of self-report measures. . . . Partialing out (total) viewing time slightly reduces the positive correlations of violence viewing and aggressive behavior in most cases, but the basic result is the same as for the raw correlations . . . We may conclude, then, that adolescents viewing high levels of violent content on television tend to have high levels of aggressive behavior, regardless of television viewing time, socioeconomic status, or school performance."

How Long Does The Effect Last?

The question of the durability of any particular experience is closely entwined with its frequency. We want to know how long a child who has broken his leg will suffer disability; he is relatively unlikely to do so again, and the termination of the effect and one ungainly fall puts an end to the matter. With television the issue is somewhat different. Children are continually and repeatedly exposed to violent television fare, so a series of short-term effects can form an unending chain of instigation to aggression. One study in the program did seek further information on long-term effects. The investigators found evidence which led them to conclude:

> ". . . a substantial component [of aggressive behavior at age 19] can be predicted better by the amount of television violence which the child watched in the third grade than by any other causal variable measured and reinforces the contention that there is a cause and effect relation between the violence content of television and overt aggressive behavior."

What Are The Implications Of These Findings?

The Surgeon General's Committee asked: "How much contribution to the violence of our society is made by extensive violent television viewing by our youth?" (p. 7). The answer appears, to us, to be that such viewing makes a significant contribution. It is not, of course, the only contributing factor to aggression. Cigarette smoking is by no means the only (or even the most influential) factor contributing to heart disease; moderate exercise is not the only factor which contributes to good health. The question is, really: "How much influence does any one factor have to show in order to be of social concern and practical importance?"

Most scientists will not consider any body of data to be final and conclusive and the present findings are no exception. All of the studies available to the Surgeon General can be criticized for this or that possible explanation, and most will be. But they fit together remarkably well. A normal, healthy child may catch a cold by visiting friends who are ill. Although he will not necessarily contract the illness, the possibility looms sufficiently large for parents to be circumspect before permitting their youngster to visit sick playmates. The same possibility exists for virtually every child regarding exposure to violence on television, and it is disquieting to find the Surgeon General less willing to admonish care in the matter of violence and aggression. There is risk in drawing tentative conclusions, but perhaps we must be wary to run the risk of failing to draw them while children continue to spend more time watching television than in any other single activity but sleep.

STATEMENT OF DR. MERLIN K. DUVAL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: It is a pleasure to be here this morning to make a statement on the recent report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. The Surgeon General, who is here with me today, serves as my principal professional advisor on this issue. As you know, he has had a continuous relationship with the advisory committee and his advice to me on this subject has been invaluable.

BACKGROUND

The impact of TV on child viewers has been examined many times by Congressional Committees and by industry, academic, health, and mental health investigators. Concern over potential connections between viewed violence and anti-social behavior has grown as the country has experienced new peaks in violent public actions. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded in 1969 that violence on television encourages real violence, especially among the children of poor, disorganized families. The Commission recommended a reduction in programs containing violence and the elimination of violence from children's cartoon programs. Recognizing the need for new research, the Commission also called for long-term studies, and cited the importance of evaluating television violence over a protracted period.

The history of the present Scientific Advisory Committee is, of course, well-known to you, Mr. Chairman. It was your request to Secretary Finch to establish such a group in March 1969, which initiated its development. Your continued interest in the Committee's studies as well as your grasp of the difficulties presented by the evaluation of data concerning social behavior have served to emphasize the importance of this undertaking while also giving the work a proper perspective.

REPORT FINDINGS

The Committee's report, which consisted of an assessment of previous studies as well as new studies commissioned for purposes of the report, was submitted to the Surgeon General on January 19, 1972. In conjunction with the five volumes of research upon which it is based, the report makes a major contribution to an understanding of the role of television in influencing the social behavior of children and young people.

The report's central finding is that a modest relationship exists between the viewing of violence on television and aggressive tendencies in children, adolescents, and in certain circumstances adults. As reported by the Committee:

> "Thus, there is a convergence of the fairly substantial experimental evidence for short-run causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and the much less certain evidence from field studies that extensive violence viewing precedes some long-run manifestations of aggressive behavior. This convergence of the two types of evidence constitutes some preliminary judication of a causal relationship, but a good deal of research remains to be done before one can have confidence in these conclusions."

Those young children (ages four to six) who were highly aggressive to begin with, were found most responsive to this violence. In short, as the report and its underlying research make clear, there is evidence to support the hypothesis that the viewing of violence on television leads to anti-social behavior in many instances and under certain circumstances.

The hypothesis is particularly disturbing because violence figures prominently in television entertainment. As the report's summary points out, "People are probably exposed to violence by television entertainment more than they are exposed by other media because they use television so much more." (at p. 3) The rate of violent episodes in television drama between 1967 and 1969 for each national network is extremely high, with a substantial proportion of this violence contributed by cartoons, which are viewed primarily by younger children. A detailed study by George Gerbner, appearing in Volume I of the reports and papers, concludes that, "Strictly defined as the overt expression of physical force intended to hurt or kill, violence prevailed in about eight of every ten plays during prime time and Saturday morning network television drama. Scenes of violence were shown at the rate of five per play or eight per hour." (at p. 39) Cartoons provided 151 violent episodes in 1967, less than one-third of all such episodes on prime time and Saturday morning network plays. In 1969, however, as Gerbner points out, "Cartoons share of all violent episodes was 254, more than half of the total." (at p. 38)

The members of this Committee, the media, the scientific community, and other interested parties have all reviewed the report with its five volumes of original research, therefore, I believe it unnecessary to repeat for you other examples of the report before providing the Department's professional response on this material.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Mr. Chairman, I have reached some very definite conclusions, after a review of the Committee's report, and in consultation with my advisors on this subject, Dr. Steinfeld and the National Institute of Mental Health, the most significant being that it is beyond dispute that a reduction in the violent content of television programming is most desirable. However, it was not the responsibility of the Advisory Committee, nor is it within the capability of our Department, to propose the means of achieving this, and we must look primarily to the recommendations of the Federal Communications Commission.

Within our own area of competence, research into factors bearing on the mental health of children will remain an important NIMH and Department priority. At the direction of Secretary Richardson, we are currently engaged in an intensive analysis of the report and its supporting data in order that we may determine what additional follow-up studies must now be undertaken, through our normal grant-review and award processes, in order further to broaden our base of knowledge. As the report explains, it's "tentative and limited conclusions are not very satisfying. They represent substantially more knowledge than we had two years ago, but they leave many questions unanswered." (at p. 113)

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared statement, however, my colleagues and I will be pleased to respond to any questions.

THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 1972

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Commerce,
Subcommittee on Communications,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a.m. in room 5110, New Senate Office Building, Hon. John O. Pastore (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pastore, Cannon, Moss, and Baker.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR PASTORE

Senator Pastore. Before we start today, I want to call attention to a letter that was hand delivered to me today. It points up pretty much what we are up against. The kind of shenanigans that take place in the background and cast reflection on the true meaning of these hearings and what we are trying to do.

This letter was hand delivered to me from the Department of the Treasury and it is signed by Eugene T. Rossides, who is Assistant Secretary. I talked with him on the telephone today.

Now this is what he says:

> Dear Mr. Chairman: It has come to our attention that the *O'Hara, U.S. Treasury* television series broadcast on CBS television on Friday nights at 8:00 p.m. is being considered for cancellation because CBS is concerned about how your Subcommittee will view the extent of violence on its program schedule.
>
> *O'Hara* is made with Treasury Department cooperation. The Department agreed to cooperate in the production of this series because we believed that programs such as this are a valuable educational and law enforcement medium, creating awareness and educating the public to proper Federal law enforcement. Also, *O'Hara*, which reaches an average 21,100,000 people each week, reinforces respect for legally constituted law enforcement and norms of good citizenship.
>
> Because the series depicts proper Federal enforcement procedure, program segments do not dwell on violence. Treasury enforcement policy is to use minimum force necessary in any enforcement situation. The series reflects this policy. Most police-type programs on television are made without cooperation with a law enforcement agency and are, therefore, not subject to the constraints of following proper legal police methods and have the option of indiscriminate use of violence.

Now listen to this paragraph:

> In our judgment, cancellation of *O'Hara* as an indirect result of these hearings would be an unwarranted irony—a result never contemplated by the Surgeon General's Report, or, indeed, the work of your Subcommittee.
>
> We felt compelled to bring this information to your attention.

Now if this isn't gobbledygook, I don't know what is. Nobody ever mentioned O'Hara. Nobody ever mentioned The FBI. If they keep whatever violence is shown consistent with the story they are trying to tell to educate the American people and don't overdo it, there is nothing wrong with it.

But that is what is happening here. I don't know whether CBS is going to cancel this program or not; and I don't know what the reasons behind it are, but when they come here to testify, I am going to ask them.

This is the kind of pressure that is being brought at this time. All we are saying to the American people and saying to the broadcasting industry, is that if this matter of violence is being overdone on television, if violence is being shown for the sake of violence, if there is excessive violence and if, as the Surgeon General said, that violence has a casual effect on the aggressive behavior of children, then we want to know about it. Do something about it. That is all this amounts to.

I thought I should bring it to the attention of those who are here representing CBS, because we would like to know for sure whether or not it is being canceled for this reason. This is the kind of propaganda that really is not helpful, and it is damaging to the public interest.

When I talked to Mr. Rossides on the telephone, I said, "Where did you get this information?" He said, "I talked to somebody at CBS," I said, "Did you talk to Dr. Stanton?" He said, "No." I said, "Talk to him first and find out how much money they may be losing on the program."

All right, Mr. Burch, I am glad you are here.

Senator BAKER. Before you start, Mr. Chairman, I think it might be appropriate to say, not entirely facetiously, if O'Hara of the Treasury was in trouble in terms of its rating, that after this marvelous exposition by the Chairman, it ought to improve materially.

Senator PASTORE. This idea that we are in some way damaging the education of the people as to law enforcement—is a lot of nonsense. That is about the size of it, All right, Mr. Burch, let's hear from you.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, may I make a short statement?

Senator PASTORE. Senator Baker.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR BAKER

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I join Senator Pastore in welcoming you back to the Communications Subcommittee. You spent 2 long days here last month and I know by now you must have a special place in your heart for the chairman and subcommittee members. Your appearance today will be particularly meaningful in light of your continuing interest in the quality of children's programing. The establishment of the Children's Unit at the FCC was a commendable initiative on your part.

Your appearance is also welcome in light of the testimony heard by this subcommittee yesterday. While the Surgeon General and his Scientific Advisory Committee found there were sufficient facts to indicate there is a causal connection between televised violence and antisocial behavior in some children, a conclusion that demands appropriate and remedial action, there was no consensus as to the appropriate direction that action should take and who should be responsible for initiating it. They, like we, realized the constitutional questions that arise when government, whether it be the Congress or the FCC, attempts to influence program content.

But the thrust of the hearing was that a way must be found to come to grips with the basic conclusions of the Surgeon General's Report. Your recommendations are welcome as are those of the National Association of Broadcasters, the networks, and other interested parties who will appear today, tomorrow, and Friday.

STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN BURCH, CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION; ACCOMPANIED BY COMMISSIONERS NICHOLAS JOHNSON, H. REX LEE, AND RICHARD E. WILEY

Mr. Burch. Mr. Chairman, I am accompanied by Commissioners Johnson, Rex Lee, and Wiley.

I believe we would all agree that a national consensus is building as to the profound importance of the subject matter of these hearings.

Your own leadership, Mr. Chairman, has been a catalyst, and I would like to think that the Commission has made a contribution as well. In a very real sense, the level of discourse has been raised a significant notch—so that it is no longer a question of whether something should be done about television's impact on children, and about the impact of televised violence in particular. The questions before us are what should be done, and by whom.

But at this point the concensus begins to run thin. And it is not surprising that it should. The very gravity of the subject precludes the quick or easy solution. We are dealing with nothing less than the development of personality and behavior traits, and we simply cannot afford cosmetics on the one hand or overkill on the other.

All the more so, because it is easier to say what is not involved than it is to run down the list of what clearly is—which would include (for starters) the scope of the First Amendment, the perils of prior censorship, the by-products of poverty, and the entire life-style of a free and pluralistic society.

I hasten to say, Mr. Chairman, that I'm not reciting a list of horribles as a way of "copping out." The Commission has no desire to evade its responsibilities, and no intention of doing so. But what I do want to stress, even as we focus on television's tremendous impact (for good and evil), is that the medium does not exist in isolation. It is an aspect of the total environment.

For the better part of three years, we have all been anticipating the publication of the Surgeon General's report on "The Impact of Televised Violence." And that, of course, is our focal point today. I certainly intend it as no indictment of the report to observe, at the outset, that it does not come equipped with pushbutton problem-solvers. It tells us much that we want to know but not nearly everything that we need to know. Its conclusions are hedged as, I would suppose, the findings of a limited scientific investigation must be hedged—and least of all, from the Commission's perspective, does it tell us unequivocally what our response should be.

Senator Pastore. In that connection, I would hope you would read the record of yesterday. We had members of the Advisory Committee here and I dare say there was a clarification of their position. I think they were much more categorical then than they were in the report, because it was a unanimous report and they candidly admitted it had to be a unanimous report; otherwise, they would have had 12 different reports submitted to the Surgeon General.

They were quite explicit yesterday. I didn't agree wiith all of them, in everything they said, but you got a different tenor and a different tone than you did—Mr. Lee was here yesterday and I think he agrees with me on that—do you not, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I certainly would agree with you.

Senator PATORE. And Mr. Wiley was here as well. Do you agree with that?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. It was a good hearing, I thought, yesterday. We heard these fine professional people who came here, and who actually stated how they individually felt. It was refreshing to hear them, and I hope you would look at the record for that reason.

I made the statement myself when I read the report that I thought it was a little too conservative; too cautious; as a matter of fact I was not completely pleased with it. But yesterday I had a different impression after listening to these scientists that came before the Committee. And they all admitted there is a causal effect, and that something needs to be done, and done now.

What to do, that is our big problem; and that is why you are here.

Mr. BURCH. That is our big problem as well, sir.

Thus, we at the FCC are engaged in an intensive self-education effort. Dr. Steinfield has already met with us for one backgrounder, and we have his standing offer to put at our disposal the expertise of the National Institute of Mental Health for additional guidance. Our Children's Unit has already begun to take him up on that offer. We regard these hearings as the next essential step. That is why we will study the full record developed here with the greatest interest. Commission staff has been engaged for months on analysis of the economics of the television industry. They are also studying the legal and Constitutional implications of possible rule makings. And, as you know, we have received voluminous comments in two proceedings that bear closely on the concerns before us today.

For my own part, I have held informal meetings in recent days with executives of the three national networks—partly to pick their brains and partly, to be perfectly candid, as a continuation of my effort to keep their feet to the fire. (Among other things, and whatever our ultimate decisions as to appropriate FCC actions might be, I want them to know that we're looking over their shoulders with intense interest.)

The next major step we plan—and it's still self-education that I'm talking about—will be public panel discussions and oral argument before the Commission, hopefully no later than mid-May. This is a technique, as you know, that we tried out with great profit during our cable television proceeding, that we have scheduled as the culmination of our fairness inquiry (for the week beginning March 27), and that has the particular benefit of pitting adversary points of view head-to-head in open debate. The panels we contemplate in the children's television area will range well beyond the issue of violence per se. They will address every fact of our broadcasting system, commercial and noncommercial, in its capability for serving young viewers. In the process, we will open ourselves to the advice of every possible expertise: broadcasters, program creators, advertisers, lawyers, economists, sociologists, social psychologists, and not least, representatives of the public (which we also believe to be our function in life).

In the next few weeks, Mr. Chairman, I would hope to send you our prospective multi-pay or even multi-week format for exhaustive panel discussions. In effect, we will be articulating what we conceive to be the fundamental problems; thus I cannot come before you today with the answers, either tentative or definitive, as to the governmental actions that might be called for.

I stress "governmental" because of the complexity and, indeed, the perils of such action. But this is not to say that no action is presently called for. We very definitely believe that the response of the broadcasting industry to the Surgeon General's report should be immediate and decisive—and that it should proceed along two parallel but distinct track:

> First: the reduction to near-zero of all gratuitous and needless violence in the programming that is specifically directed to children or that children tend to watch in large numbers; and
>
> Second: the creation of substantial amounts of new and diversified programming, not just the usual diet of cartoons, designed to open the eyes and expand the minds of young viewers.

I'll not go over the ground that was covered so thoroughly here yesterday—except to note again that the committee's report is perhaps necessarily ambivalent in its findings. It concluded that televised violence can and, under certain circumstances, does "instigate an increase in aggressive acts" by children—but that the effect is neither uniform nor measurably present among a majority. Quoting from the report:

> The evidence does indicate that televised violence may lead to increased aggressive behavior in certain subgroups of children, who might constitute a small portion or a substantial portion of the total population of young television viewers. We cannot estimate the size of the fraction, however, since the available evidence does not come from cross-section samples of the entire American population of children.

The evidence, let us assume, is inconclusive. But we would contend that it is not necessary for the broadcasting industry to await further studies in order to pin down the "size of the fraction" who might be affected.

Numbers aside, we simply do not believe that broadcasters should present children's programing in which violence is used as a deliberate device to grab and hold onto a major share of the audience. They have no right, and I use the word advisedly, to put at risk any number of children in an effort to boost ratings. I'm well aware that the incidence of violent action does in fact tend to push ratings up—and that, turning the coin, high ratings tend to equal high levels of interest, which is another way of saying that giving kids violence is simply giving them what they want.

By the same token, though, and left simply to their own desires, lots of kids would be happy to subsist on a diet of soft drinks and candy. The key phrase, of course, is "left simply to their own desires"—and this, in my view, is the moral equivalent of complete adult irresponsibility.

I am also aware that children's cartoons rank high on any violence scale, and that the use of frenzied action and violence in its many forms is a relatively easy way to capture the attention of an audience that may range from age 3 on up to 12 or more. But it is no answer to say that the total potential audience on Saturday and Sunday mornings is relatively small; that the broadcaster must deliver as large a share of that audience as possible to the advertiser; and that action-adventure programing, all too often a synonym for lots of violence, is the cheap and easy way to attract such an audience. That may be good business. But it has no place in an enterprise founded on the concept of public trust.

We recognize that there has been marked improvement in this area. From 1967 to 1969, as the report shows, violence increased in cartoons and comedies; since then, the trendline has gone down.

In the words of one anonymous network executive, there has been greater reliance on "gentler violence." But, even as we recognize and applaud the improvement, we must also note that television programing tends to run in cycles—and that cycles can turn up as well as down.

Clearly, we are not asking for the total, definitive elimination of violence from children's programing. It is not possible nor would it reflect the complexity of the real world. And violence takes many forms.

There is an ingredient of violence, for example, in a racial epithet; and it is present in the predatory behavior of animals and insects in the world of nature. One case in point is "The Wonderful World of Disney" where violence is often shown—but generally in context, and with the accompaniment of lucid explanation.

I might also note that this program attracts uniformly large audiences and, in our analysis of 1970 data, returned to the NBC network that year a profit contribution in excess of $4 million.

We are not asking the broadcast industry to screen out all violence, however it may be defined. And we're not asking it to sanitize the world the child sees on the television screen to the point of bland unreality.

But we are suggesting that a new attitude take hold. One aspect would be the elimination of gratuitous risk to whatever fraction of the total population of children, for whatever reasons of cost accounting.

Another aspect of such an attitude would be a good-faith effort to capitalize on the affirmative capabilities of television to enrich the experience of young viewers. And, to make progress in either direction, there must be a broad consensus within the broadcasting industry, and all allied industries.

There is a kind of Gresham's Law operating here. If one network or a group of major independents continues to opt for violent action programing as a cheap and easy way to gain a large children's audience, this will probably erode the effort of others to reverse the trend—or at least put them at a severe competitive disadvantage.

Let me offer a specific example, Mr. Chairman. The Neilsen averages for the last quarter of 1971 list NBC's new prestige children's program, "Take a Giant Step," at 10:30 to 11:30 Saturday morning. It draws a 12 percent share of the audience. ABC's new program, "Curiosity Shop," has a 24 percent share in the 11:00 to noon time-slot. During that hour and a half period, in a virtually unbroken string of cartoons, CBS draws the following audience shares: "Archie's TV Funnies," 47 percent; "Sabrina the Teen-Age Witch," 54 percent; and

"Josie and the Pussycats," 47 percent. I think we're forced to ask whether traditional competition and the normal rules of the marketplace can really be left to operate in this area. And by this area, I mean programing designed for young children.

Joint consultation is essential—among the networks, and among broadcasters generally. The NAB is an obvious focal point.

The Television Code recognizes, at least on paper, broadcasters' special responsibility toward children, and this is a point to which I'll return in a few minutes. There are several directions the NAB code authority might take to intensify its concern with the television that children watch.

For example, added public participation on the code board might expand the dimensions of their efforts; a larger staff, and staff with specific expertise in child development, might also help substantially.

Pre-screening of children's programs is another possibility—particularly in connection with some sort of rating scheme such as various observers—many of them yesterday—have proposed. Certainly the woods are full of relevant courses of action, well worth study, and the Commission stands ready as always to serve as go-between in an effort to achieve industrywide consensus. From my previous soundings at Justice, I feel confident that there would be no antitrust obstacles to such an effort.

Up to this point, I have been focusing largely on weekend programing—on Saturday and Sunday mornings where most of the programs directed specifically to children are scheduled. But even if these programs were altered substantially, the broader problem would not be solved.

For the fact is that the weekend segment makes up less than 15 percent of the average child's viewing time; most children do most of their viewing in the late afternoon and early evening hours. One of the major problems we have to face, therefore, is the almost complete lack of programs designed for children at the times when they are watching most.

In terms of violence, I will simply reiterate what I've already said: That gratuitous violence, violence as an audience-grabber, must be avoided in view of the number of children watching. And because so much of the programing presented in this time period is syndicated, the problem for the next several years will be more one of scheduling time than of production.

Many of the more violent cartoon series of the 1960s are now in syndicated rerun on independent stations, and children are avid viewers of the adult syndicated reruns that comprise a major part of the programing during the late afternoon.

With this background, I want to quote directly from the Television Code:

> It is not enough that only those programs which are intended for viewing by children shall be suitable for the young and immature. In addition, those programs which might be reasonably expected to hold the attention of children and which are broadcast during times of the day when children may be normally expected to constitute a substantial part of the audience should be presented with due regard for their effect on children.

I think we all would agree that the thought expressed is right on the money. Without prejudice or prejudgment, it is then necessary to ask whether and to what extent this thought is reflected in a typical, daily television schedule.

What we mainly would urge is that children, and parents, should have more and better and more diversified programing available to them—in sum, more alternatives—during the late afternoon and early evening hours.

Indeed, they should have more alternatives available during weekend hours as well. We're deluged at the commission with letters bearing on this point. There are apparently a number of parents who are more than willing to supervise what their children watch, and even to watch along with them—if only there were real choices available.

Here again the language of the NAB Television Code is relevant. The first sentence of the chapter devoted to "responsibility toward children" reads as follows: "The education of children involves giving them a sense of the world at large." The code calls on the broadcaster to provide for "experimentation in the development of programs specifically directed to the advancement of community culture and education." Again, I would urge the entire broadcasting fraternity to turn its eye inward.

Candidly, Mr. Chairman, and particularly from the perspective of the crying need for more diverse programing, I am not at all sure that violence per se is the central problem in the relationship between children and television. It is unquestionably of high importance—no one would argue about that. But even stripped of gratuitous violence, children's programing might still fall far short of its potential. And the television medium might never be thoroughly exploited as an educational vehicle in the largest sense.

To implement the need for new programing, cooperation, and consultation again will be required. One or two networks cannot be expected to take the first risky steps in this direction, while their competitors continue to take the low road of stereotype cartoon fare and to play the cost-per-thousand game. That would be suicide, not fair competition.

Advertisers, too, must give their wholehearted support to the effort. More than support, they must exercise leadership and leverage. Advertisers cannot demand a good selling vehicle and then assume no responsibility for the quality of the product. They cannot criticize the present situation in children's television and then refuse to put their money in programs with appeal to specific age groups, or in those that refuse to rely on violence as the way to build an audience.

Let me stress again that we are not calling simply for bland, inoffensive programing. There is room for almost everything in commercial television—but there are always the hours after 9 or 10 in the evening when programs not suitable for children can be shown.

More important, programing that truly opens the world to children need never be bland or inoffensive. What is offensive is violence for its own sake, and the sake of ratings—or a steady diet of pablum, interspersed with chewing gum.

It is not for the Commission to make these fundamental programing judgments. They are judgments that can only be made by broadcasters, program creators, and advertisers, and all of them together.

But it is our mandate under section 303(g) of the act "to promote the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest." We can and, indeed, we must create a climate for the responsible cooperative effort that clearly is called for. And we intend to do just that—within the limits of our authority, and on the basis of the best that science can tell us.

Mr. Chairman, I realize that I've only scratched the surface. Now, it will be a privilege to respond to your questions and engage in further discussion.

Senator Pastore. First of all, I want to congratulate you on a good statement. I know that from the day you became Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, you have been very much concerned with programing viewed by children.

I know you have had several conferences with the heads of the networks, and I know that you are pursuing this matter. Recognizing fully that there are certain limitations under the Communications Act and the Constitution, as to how for Government regulation can go in bringing about remedies.

But the fact still remains that I think with true cooperation and understanding, and if we get away from this profit motive a little bit once in a while, I think maybe we can reach a solution to this problem.

I dare say that the people concerned with the networks and the broadcasting industry are mature. They are responsible people as a rule, and I think they know the difference between right and wrong. We are not trying to eliminate any television show or any program that is inspiring and educational.

What we are saying here is just what you have said. Violence for the sake of violence, violence in order to increase ratings, so you can make more money is inimicable to the public good.

I repeat again, yours is a fine statement.

I will now call upon my colleagues. Senator Cannon.

Senator Cannon. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, want to join the chairman in thanking you for a very fine statement here. I think it is one of the better ones that has been given on this particular subject.

Now to get down to specifics. How soon do you anticipate that we might be able to move forward in this area? Either with or without Government action?

Mr. Burch. I think that the feeling I have is that the response time depends a great deal on how the networks view this Surgeon General's report. And whether they can reach a consensus on exactly what is the appropriate method of proceeding.

I am sympathetic with many of the problems that program producers face in this. For example, how do you define violence? Is there a distinction between cartoon and human being violence? And many of these questions have not been answered.

The fact is, Senator Cannon, I suppose in terms of the network, let's say, it would, it could put out internal memo which would be effective within a matter of months. How much of their programing is already in the can for the next 6 months to a year, I don't know. But the network presidents that are going to appear can give you that.

One of the problems I adverted to here is we think often in terms of networks when we think of television, but the fact is, if my children are an example, the independent stations get a lot of children's viewing because of the fact of syndicated reruns. And so we have to deal with independent producers, we have to deal with syndicators who have bought programing and paid for it in a time different than we are now in, and those problems are going to be extremely difficult.

Senator Cannon. What type of a time frame do they normally cover in these syndicated reruns?

Mr. Burch. I think they are usually purchased on yearly contracts. But some of the material, as you may well know, is as much as 10 or 15 years old.

Senator Cannon. Yes, I understand that. But at least the station normally buys on a year's contract basis, then. So they have a lot of this material in their repertoire that they have already bought and paid for. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Burch. Yes. I must confess, I do not know enough about the buying and scheduling of programing to be of any assistance there. But certainly the people who do know about it will be before this committee.

Senator Cannon. No, you indicated, or said, in your statement that some progress, or quite a little progress, had been made from 1967 to 1969——

Mr. Burch. No, after 1969.

Senator Cannon. Excuse me, after 1969. Violence increased from 1967 to 1969, and then the trend line had gone down. Now, has it continued in an unbroken line to decrease, or has it gotten to a leveling-off point at this time?

Mr. Burch. I think it is rather hard to draw conclusions about this because we all use different standards of measurements. Kind of intuitively, I think the incidence of violence is down, and perhaps is continuing down on Saturday morning. But I cannot verify that with any kind of data.

The Surgenon General used a certain type of data, and I noticed yesterday there was a suggestion by one of the parties that perhaps an annual report on violence might be of some assistance. It is an intriguing thought if everybody could agree on exactly what to measure and how to measure. That is one of the difficult things.

I think the thing that is significant about the post-1969 period is that it has seen, in my opinion at least, I think at least the networks have made a very real effort to develop children's programing of a rather high order. I mentioned the two shows in my statement. CBS has continued "Captain Kangaroo" on a daily basis, and is now putting in some material which is supplied by HEW into that show.

I think that there are definite trends in the networks to increase the quality of children's programing. I think they are spending more money on it, and I think they are spending a great deal more time on it than perhaps they did in the 1967–69 period.

Senator Cannon. Do you think the broadcasters national association—the NAB—could take action now that might help speed this process up?

Mr. Burch. Yes. I think realistically that is probably the logical place for action to be taken, through the NAB, the National Association of Broadcasters, and the Television Code.

Senator Pastore. Would the Senator yield for a question at this point?

Senator Cannon. Yes, sir.

Senator Pastore. Yesterday in questioning the members of the Scientific Advisory Committee, we included a Dr. Klapper, who is the scientist that was recommended by CBS; and also Dr. Coffin, as I recall, who was the scientist for NBC. Both of them admitted categorically, when I asked them the question, that something needs to be done and should be done. I would hope that they will carry that message back to their production people. Because, as you say, while we await whatever long-range remedies may be instituted, some things can be done now, without changing the quality of the story they are trying to tell.

And I don't think in the long run it will change the ratings at all. It is the very competitiveness that exists. You put on Johnny Carson at a certain hour, so similar shows have to go on the other networks. There is always this contest of who can take what from somebody else. And I think there is enough room there, enough money, for all of them.

Senator Cannon. I would be hopeful NAB would take some action to try to get this movement going so we may not have to have governmental action as you discussed here. Obviously that would be the best method, as we have said all along. I feel personally that if the networks would show that they were really policing themselves effectively, and getting the job done, then I would think that no governmental action would be best.

But if they don't, then I think they ought to be getting a message loud and clear that there is going to have to be governmental action.

Mr. Burch. My reaction, after meeting with the network presidents, is that each of them is well aware of the problem and is giving it a great deal of thought. I think each of them is honestly perplexed as to just what is the best method to proceed, the most effective way to proceed. But I think the dialog is on, and I don't think it will be stopped until something comes out that will be worth while.

Senator Cannon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Pastore. Mr. Baker.

Senator Baker. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I don't mean these queries to be critical of either your testimony nor of the Surgeon General's report, but I continue to struggle to construct something more empirical than terms such as "gratuitous" and "needless violence." I continue to struggle with the question of whether or not it is advantageous to the emotional health and well-being of the child to portray violence and its consequences in a bloody sense of realism, including grief to the family and pain and suffering, or whether it is better to designate it as a fantasy adjunct, a story piece.

I really can't quite put my finger on what is gratuitous and needless violence, except to say, as the chairman repeatedly says, I think correctly, that all of us have an intuitive or instinctive knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, at least within the framework and mores of our present society. But I wonder if you can give me any guidance on how we might institutionalize the business of testing the gratuitous and needless violence of television programing?

Mr. Burch. As a matter of fact, we were talking about that problem in my office before we came here today, Senator. And it is interesting that probably the network presidents, or their operating people, could sit down and list the 20 most violent shows on television today, and all more or less agree on what they were, and yet probably have a difficult time defining exactly what violence was and what is gratuitous violence.

I have a distinct feeling that you and I, looking at a product after it is completed, can probably not determine whether a violent scene was gratuitous or not. I think it goes back almost to the time the show is written and produced, because there are options available at that time which can be either exercised or not exercised.

I would think the classic, in my opinion, of gratuitous type violence would be the cartoon shows in the 1960's, the late 1960's, that were so prevalent of the science fiction type character who disintegrates everybody, or threw them into space or burned them up, or whatever.

I will say I think most of those shows have left the networks, they are not being run. Some of them are in syndication, and we will be seeing them in the future. But there was quite a series of that in the late 1960's, about the time the Surgeon General was doing this study. That, to me, is violence for the sake of violence.

Senator BAKER. But that is also the complete fantasyland. I wonder if that has the same impact on a child's psyche as violence that is not fantasyland.

Mr. BURCH. That is one of the questions I have. I don't know the answer.

Senator BAKER. I don't think this is an appropriate inquiry to make of the FCC, either. But I am searching for expert advice from whatever source I can get it.

Another problem that is more directly related to the question of your jurisdiction is the fact that presumably our subcommittee, as Senator Pastore has pointed out yesterday and again today, has jurisdiction of this subject matter directly under the Communications Act and indirectly in the final determination of how stations are licensed or relicensed.

What is going to happen, Mr. Chairman, in a few years—I expect it won't be many—when you have children's programs originated on cable TV, where you don't have a relicensing or licensing procedure at the outset. How will that situation be contended with, in your judgment?

Mr. BURCH. I think we probably are going to have to find out how we treat the ones who are licensed before we get into the cable.

Senator BAKER. How are you going to treat them at all?

Mr. BURCH. That is I think——

Senator Baker. Where is your present statutory jurisdiction or power to treat any origination on cable as to program contents or public service?

Mr. BURCH. On cable?

Senator BAKER. Yes.

Mr. BURCH. I think, frankly, we do have, assuming the *Midwest Video* case is decided in our favor, I think we do have as much plenary jurisdiction as we can have over cable television.

Senator BAKER. But not through licensing?

Mr. BURCH. No. I think we would have to do it in terms of rules. I think the problem approaching this question of violence on a renewal basis would be a very difficult task for us. I think it would——

Senator BAKER. It would be difficult for somebdy, but I am not sure who.

Mr. BURCH. Yes.

Senator PASTORE. Unless you have an aroused citizenry that make complaints. People who would come in and say, "this is the bill of fare that they have been giving us, and this is the way they have been polluting our cultural environment." And you would have to judge at that time whether or not their service was in the public interest and their license should be renewed.

But Senator Baker brings up an excellent point and that is the point that I brought up at the time we had the CATV hearings. They do get a vested right.

I questioned very much the special relief you mentioned then.

Mr. BURCH. There is, I suppose, a vital distinction between a cable system which is originating programing to which in a way is an add-on to their normal service—as opposed to a broadcaster whose only function is to originate and disseminate programing.

I don't know if that distinction is worth pursuing, but it is a distinction.

Senator BAKER. Without pursuing that legalism, and it is really more than a legalism, but without pursuing that much further, the jurisdictional question from our standpoint or from yours is really an exercise in academic pursuit, because what we ought to be concerned with is the impact of this program and its contents on children. And the impact will be precisely the same whether it is cable or over-the-air origination or cassette TV or whatever it may turn out to be.

Without asking you to respond to that generalization, let me ask you another question that is more exact. Yesterday we heard testimony from witnesses to the effect that there might be some sort of nongovernmental agency that would undertake a review or rating of program contents.

Two things: No. 1, do you agree or disagree with that? And No. 2, how would you visualize the implementation of such a program?

Mr. BURCH. Dr. Steinfeld, when we met with him at the Commission, mentioned that one of the definitive or finite things that his Commission had come up with was the possibility of a violence rating system over whatever scale—I don't know what sort of scale.

I must confesss that I have considered it, and I do not, very candidly, know the answer. On one hand, you get the argument that if you announce a thing is going to be violent, you have almost guaranteed a better audience than it had before.

Senator BAKER. I think we helped O'Hara, Treasury, this morning.

Mr. BURCH. Last evening, I don't know if you watched CBS news, but they had a thing on there concerning the trapping of animals in Canada. I was watching that with two children. And precisely at the time Mr. Cronkite suggested we ask the children to leave, that is exactly when I couldn't have gotten them out of the room with a piece of dynamite, I suppose.

Senator BAKER. I must say though, in deference to CBS and Walter Cronkite, there was a forewarning.

Mr. BURCH. There was a forewarning. But I think trying to actually exercise that over anything other than infants in arms is a tough job. As a matter of fact, I personally was not offended by my children seeing the program after they stayed there.

But the second part I am unsure of at this time is just how, whoever this group is, whether it be governmental or nongovernmental, how they measure the violence content and that gets you back to your question as to whether or not fantasy violence is as bad as real life violence, actual guns, fists, things of that nature. I simply don't know the answer to those questions at this time.

Senator Baker. I note, too from "Broadcasting" magazine, the March 20 issue, that the National Audience Board, which tried to do approximately what we are talking about, and was privately funded, has just folded its tent and stolen silently into the night for lack of funding.

Do you have any estimate of whether or not there would be nongovernmental funding if such an agency were created?

Mr. Burch. I certainly see no reason why there couldn't be.

Senator Baker. Have you discussed this with the networks?

Mr. Burch. Yes, I mentioned it to the network people and very candidly I think each of them is aware of the possibility of it. I don't think any of them have made a determination of whether it is the direction to move or not.

Senator Baker. You mentioned a moment ago in response to a question that in your conversations with the network executives, you came away convinced, I believe your language was, that they are aware of the problem and want to do something about it. Or that was the thrust of your answer.

Mr. Burch. Yes, I think so.

Senator Baker. Can you tell me a little more—I understand we will hear from them, I understand, tomorrow—but can you tell me what you think they might be able to do in this respect?

Mr. Burch. I think there is probably a great deal they can do. I think that one of the points of view which I respect is that there is a danger of overkill in this area just as there is of underkill. I don't think anybody wants to do a lot of sanitizing just to get in Senator Pastore's good graces for a while. There is a tendency to do that, as you know.

Senator Baker. I wouldn't discount that possibility.

Mr. Burch. I wouldn't, either.

Senator Pastore. Well, read Variety.

Mr. Burch. I think there is a considerable amount of honest confusion as to the best course. But the impression I came away with is that I don't believe that any network president is going to seriously dispute the findings of the Surgeon General that there is a relationship on some people. Now I think each of them is going to want to argue who those people are. Just exactly who those people are and how you define them more precisely than has been done thus far is something I think the networks will want to work on themselves, either independently or together or with the government.

Senator Baker. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, you have done your usual good job in making a good, forceful presentation of your points of view. I think you always do, and I admire the job you are doing.

I note, however, that at some point in your testimony certain of your fellow Commissioners have nodded their heads one way or another. I wonder if I could ask if any other Commissioners on this point have a contrary or different view?

Senator PASTORE. I would hope that the Senator from Tennessee would allow Mr. Moss to interrogate the Chairman and then we will get to the others.

Senator BAKER. Of course.

Senator MOSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, commend the Chairman for a very good statement. I didn't hear it all, but I have had time to read it now and I did hear part of it.

One thing I keep wondering about is we stated it is a truism and I guess it must be true that violence attracts larger viewing audiences. Is that right? Has that been a factor?

Mr. BURCH. I don't know that I could give you any scientific answer to that. Instinctively, I tend to believe that action-type programing, at least in terms of children, is a thing children like to watch.

Senator MOSS. So if the broadcasters set some sort of a ceiling themselves or some kind of standards themselves, aren't they immediately thrown into the position of pushing against those standards and by competition getting over the line? If it is a voluntary thing, doesn't it rather rapidly break down then?

Mr. BURCH. That is certainly a possibility. That is one of the points I made in my statement, that if only two of the three networks or if the three networks, but not the independent producers decide to do something, it is probably not going to be effective. You have to have almost a uniform consensus on it.

Senator MOSS. They point out to me that in the Report there is a finding, in the Surgeon General's Report, that violence is attractive and attracts a larger viewing audience.

Mr. BURCH. Excuse me, Senator. I think that would always depend a bit on what is in opposition to that particular show.

Senator MOSS. Which again underlines the thing I am talking about. The fact that there is fierce competition for viewing audiences. But it seems to me that the follow-on to that is almost inevitable. That we must have some kind of a rating scale that is set or at least enforced in some way by governmental authority rather than by leaving it to a voluntary code by the broadcasters.

Mr. BURCH. Well, perhaps. But I would point up there are a number of things that are done today by broadcasters that I question very sincerely whether the government could do. For example, hard liquor advertising. I don't really know whether this Congress could pass a law that would prohibit hard liquor advertising. Presumably it could, if you had a finding of great health and injuries.

But things of that nature, broadcasters have done voluntarily and I think done quite well.

Senator MOSS. I concede that. But that is something that is very easily defined; there is a sharp line as to whether it is liquor with an alcoholic content of a certain amount. Well, I am puzzled, as all of us are, I guess, as to how we are going to set a standard or how we are going to judge it.

You obviously have the enforcement power in relicensing. But the judgment at renewal time unless you have some established code, is going to be difficult for the Commission to make.

Mr. BURCH. Yes. I would not tend to agree with you that it is quite simple, we obviously have the power in the relicensing field. That is a power that at least to this point the Commission has tried to stay away from programming. As you know, in the renewal proceedings, which we are now considering, that is being debated very heavily, as to whether we can set any standards of how much news, or local programming or public affairs programming is a norm. This is a very hotly contested question, because of the first amendment implications.

And whether you have prior restraint, which I think would violate section 326 of the act, or whether you do it after the fact, it still raises some elements of censorship.

Senator MOSS. Thank you very much, Mr. Burch.

We will call on Mr. Johnson next.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The broadcasting industry now stands charged with having molested the minds of our Nation's children to serve the cause of corporate profit.

Executives, whom one would assume to be rich beyond their wildest dreams of avarice, each year seek even more in salaries, expense accounts and stock options. They found they could become richer still if they would only take a whole nation of children and train them to be more violent. Accordingly, they set about doing it.

Senator Dodd first indicted television's implication in violence—what we then called "juvenile delinquency"—18 years ago, back in 1954. Network executives promised they would do something about it—a study. Meanwhile, levels of violence on television had increased.

In 1968, after the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, President Johnson established the Eisenhower Commission to study violence in our society. Once again an indictment of television. Once again promises of reform. And once again the studies showed the incidents of violence on television remained unchanged, or actually increased, following these hollow expressions of concern.

Isn't it time we face these ugly facts? Isn't it time we express the outrage and frustration that is felt by almost every American parent?

The networks are benefiting from a common failing of our society. We condemn particular instances of what we ignore—or even reward—in the mass.

A man who kills one other man will be tried for murder. But a President who has presided over the death of 422,000 persons in Southeast Asia—according to his own count—can seriously undertake a campaign for reelection as a man of peace.

A Presidential assistant was dismissed by President Eisenhower because he had accepted a vicuna coat from a businessman dealing with the government. But when ITT is charged with giving $400,000 to President Nixon's campaign, the men who were involved in permitting the conglomerate corporation to get antitrust approval to acquire another billion-dollar corporation end up as an Attorney General designate, the President's campaign manager, a U.S. District Court Judge, and a Presidential assistant.

A man who steals $2.00 from a coin phone box will be sent to jail. But a telephone executive who can get an unwarranted rate increase that permits him to take an additional $2.00, every month, from every telephone, can steal hundreds of millions of dollars from the American people and be sent, instead, to the White House for dinner.

Out where I live, if you pollute the air by burning a few leaves at the curb you are fined. And yet General Motors, which provides the lion's share of all the air pollution in America gets encouragement from the government in the form of anticompetitive trade restrictions and inequitable tax relief to enable it to make the pollution problem even worse.

And so it is with child molesters. If you do it during the week, on the school playground, to one child, you are driven off to prison in a police car. But if you do it Saturday morning, in the living room, to millions of young children, you are just driven home, by a chauffeur, in a long black limousine.

Action for Children's Television has pointed out what television executives are doing to make our children into little consumers.

Robert Choate has testified to what they are doing to teach our children nutritional habits that are very dangerous to their physical health.

And now the staff of the Surgeon General's report—notwithstanding the Administration's invitation to let the networks stack the panel itself—has given you five volumes of reports documenting television's adverse impact upon our children's mental health.

As everyone but network executives has known all along, violence in television programs leads to violence in children's behavior. I reviewed some 75 to 100 studies to this effect before testifying before the Eisenhower Commission in 1968. What we have not formerly been able to document is that it also may be a cause of violence many years later. And, as you now know, the studies also report a direct correlation between the quantity of television watching generally and low IQ, poor grades, lack of leadership ability, inability to socialize with other children, and a psychopathic tendency to withdraw from reality. Nor is parental supervision adequate for many of the reasons the chairman outlined. The staff studies show that forbidding children to watch violence on television can also lead to adverse psychological consequences.

Not that adults come off any better, mind you. Corporate television is unprejudiced in the disrespect for its audience; it will mistreat any viewer, without regard to age, race, or sex.

We have had a Presidential Commission that indicted television for its adverse impact upon race relations—the Kerner Commission. I already mentioned the Presidential Commission headed by Milton Eisenhower that issued two staff volumes on the impact of television programing on violence generally. Virtually every minority group in America has complained of its portrayal on television. The women's liberation groups make some very persuasive arguments about the demeaning impact of television on women. Parents and teachers are outraged. Many religious leaders have decried the impact of television on our moral and spiritual values as a Nation. Nor is this the fault of the writers. Writers and producers recently testified here before Senator Ervin that the creative, constructive material they do try to put in television programs gets censored out by network executives. Over 80 percent of them had personally experienced corporate censorship.

No, training our children to be violent—as immoral as it is—is but a small ingredient in a whole pattern of totally irresponsible corporate behavior. The problem of violence in children's television programs can only be understood, and dealt with, in that context.

And now, like the child who finally shouted what his elders could not bring themselves to whisper—"the emperor has no clothes"—I think it's time we in Washington say out loud the truth that all of us read in our mail from Americans in all walks of life: the men who are currently running commercial network television in this country are a vicious, evil influence.

I have been writing books and articles and making proposals to deal with these problems for the 5½ years I have been on the commission. I will not bore you with a full repetition of all of them—many of which have already been laid before you in testmony in past years. But here are a few, and perhaps some new ones.

1. Fund the Public Broadcasting Corporation at no less than $500 million a year. We need a strong public broadcasting service more than any other nation in the world to counteract commercial broadcasting, and yet we fund our modest efforts at a lower proportion of our gross national product than virtually any other civilized nation. "Sesame Street" cost significantly less than one-half of one percent of commercial broadcasting's annual revenue—and even that pittance didn't come from the networks.

2. Require that the three commercial networks provide one-third of all prime time on a nonsponsored basis for entertainment, dramas, cultural, and public affairs programing. On a staggered basis, this would give every American a choice of programing during any prime time viewing hour throughout the week. Significant quantities of children's programs without commercials—the problem addressed by ACT—are also needed.

3. Require counteradvertising, as the Federal Trade Commission has courageously proposed to a reluctant Federal Communications Commission. No products would be banned—not even the drug pushing to which corporate broadcasting seems so profitably addicted—but the viewer would at least be exposed to a little bit of truth from time to time to support his own efforts at self-defense.

4. As for violence, simply require that two commercial minutes be removed from every half hour containing violence, and be made available at no cost to responsible professionals to program information to children (and adults) about the adverse consequence of violence, the alternative approaches to resolving human conflict, or other balancing information thought by the professionals to be appropriate.

5. I will add at this point another proposal which I mentioned to the Violence Commission in 1968, and that is that tort actions ought to be seriously considered by parents and by the victims of violent actions, naming the networks as defendants. I think the law is sufficiently advanced in this area to make such a cause of action viable at this time.

Just as the cigarette companies finally responded when they realized they would be confronted with wrongful death actions, and the automobile companies responded when they realized they would be confronted with wrongful death actions, I think the only way to get these executives to turn around is to hit their corporations in the pocketbook. I think this approach might be of some use, as well.

6. Reduce the permissible number of commercial minutes (a standard now set by the industry, not the FCC) to one-half of current levels.

7. Require all commercials to be bunched on the hour and half-hour.

8. Forbid networks to own programs, program production facilities, or stations. This divestiture would merely bring the broadcasting industry into compliance with the antitrust standards conventionally applied to the film industry.

9. Finally, fund the long-overdue across-the-board continuing review of the impact of television upon all aspects of our society—before we fact yet another national crisis, and Presidential Commission or Congressional committee inquiry. Needless to say, this time insure that the broad range of professionals necessary to such an undertaking are fully independent and have no conflict of interest with the networks' interests.

America will long remember how you—and we—respond in this hour of national need to the pressure of the most powerful lobby in our Nation's history. I have seen little hope during my years on the FCC that establishment power is prepared to undertake the kind of reforms I have proposed today. Won't you please prove me wrong.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much. Senator Cannon?

Senator CANNON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Johnson, I listened to your statement with interest, but I noted earlier in the course of Chairman Burch's testimony you appeared to disagree with some of the comments that he made therein. I wondered if you would want to address yourself to any specific points that he answered on which you may disagree with respect to the questions and answers.

Mr. JOHNSON. For starters, I would disagree with his assertion that the reason we don't have hard liquor advertising is because of some gratuitous philanthropic desire on the part of the networks to take it off. I believe this committee takes some of the credit for the state of affairs on American television. I think that point should not be unnoticed.

Broadcasters have fought at every turn any efforts to regulate advertising. Cigarette advertising contributed to some 300,000 deaths a year, and they fought to the bitter end, all the way to the Supreme Court, that principle. They refused to take the cigarette ads off even when companies wanted to take them off.

You had to intercede to keep hard liquor advertising off the air.

Senator Nelson has held hearings on drug abuse, and they showed little interest in responding to that.

I think there has been a consistent irresponsibility on their part. I think for the last 18 years, we have been talking about this problem of violence, but there are dozens of other issues that are equally destructive of society. For 18 years, they have been making promises, they will make you more promises tomorow.

Meanwhile, we have a generation of kids that have been exposed to this porgraming. And the saddest thing about it is that a child has no capacity to reject this information. You can teach a child, a young child, 11 languages simultaneously. You can teach him to read by the time he is 2 or 3. You can give him the sensory inputs he needs to become a valuable member of our society. The fact that they refuse to do that ought to be basis enough for criminal indictments, notwithstanding the negative impact that they have on the kids.

A child can learn anything at almost any speed, and he does, he picks it up off television. What he cannot do is reject. Once it is implanted on his brain, just like putting it into a computer, it is there forever. And that is what we do in the instinctive moments when we respond.

A scientist told me a story about this. It involved some of his testimony before members of NASA, and they looked at him in disbelief. He said, "Okay, I will put a question to you, and you tell me the first thing that comes to your minds when I say this." Now these are men who studied the surface of the moon, walked on the moon. He said, "What is the moon made of?" And they all said, "Cheese." It is what we do in those reflective actions that do contribute to the violence in our society.

In a moment when you can either respond with a violent act or you can respond with compromise and cooperation and compassion, what you do reflectively, is what you are going to end up doing. What we are training our kids is to take the violent path. We could make of the people of this country so much more than what they are in terms of their capacity to fulfill the potential that they hold. And we are not doing it. That is the crime.

That is far worse than the violence that they are inducing in our children.

Senator CANNON. You have made some recommendations that are quite drastic in the context of what we are doing today—

Mr. JOHNSON. If you think these are drastic, you should have seen the first draft before my staff made me take some stuff out.

Senator CANNON. I am sure you recognize that these recommendations would be quite impossible of achievement at the present time.

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't see why. What particular one are you talking about?

Senator CANNON. To fund the public broadcasting corporation at no less than $500 million a year.

Mr. JOHNSON. We don't have that money?

Senator CANNON. I am sure we have the money——

Mr. JOHNSON. Then why is it impossible?

Senator CANNON. Because I think I realize, maybe you don't, that politics is the art of achieving the possible and there are certain things here that can't be achieved in the immediate future, even it these were good objectives and could be achieved over a period of time.

So my question to you is: Do you have any recommendations for the short run, for the immediate future, that might be taken to improve the situation that we all agree needs improving?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think these proposals can be implemented very promptly. I certainly acknowledge that your political acumen exceeds my own. But I cannot believe that if these issues are put to the broad base of the American people and the parents of this country, that they would say it is politically impossible to do these things just because the commercial broadcasters have so much power in our political system.

I think if they don't have the information, which they are now not getting, they are not going to react. But I think that if you tell them the story, I think they will support you. I think they will reelect you. That is really what it gets down to.

I think times are changing in terms of political issues.

Senator Cannon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Pastore. Many of the suggestions that you have made fall within the jurisdiction of the Federal Communications Commission, do they not?

Mr. Johnson. Yes, indeed.

Senator Pastore. Has anything been done along the lines you have suggested?

Mr. Johnson. Nothing.

Senator Pastore. Can you tell us why?

Mr. Johnson. I am sure that my chairman would be delighted to tell you why.

Senator Pastore. All right. Somebody tell us why, for the record.

Mr. Burch. Mr. Chairman, we get this kind of performance almost every day at the Commission, and very candidly we are not impressed by a lot of the conclusions that Commissioner Johnson draws. I think that the bulk of his recommendations are actually irrelevant, it seems to me, to the question of television violence.

I personally am appalled at this business of getting invited to the White House for dinner, and the ITT proceeding, the President who kills these people, I find this sort of argument so ill-advised that I simply cannot take Commissioner Johnson's suggestions very seriously. I think perhaps that may be one of the answers. I can only speak for myself.

Senator Pastore. Have these suggestions been made before the Commission?

Mr. Burch. Practically every day.

Senator Pastore. And they have been rejected by the Commission.

Mr. Burch. I would say the question of funding the public broadcasting corporation is obviously not a Commission responsibility. We are not particularly expert in that field.

I don't think, frankly, the Commission has the authority to take one-third of all prime time and make it non-commercial, absent some direction from this Congress.

I suppose Commissioner Johnson would disagree. Conter-advertising is before us now in a rulemaking proceeding. It was filed, we will have hearings on it commencing next week. I don't know what the reluctant FCC is that Commissioner Johnson refers to. But a good slam is always welcome, I suppose.

The question, number four, is simply an extension of three, reduce the permissible number of commercial minutes. If you will recall, back when the FCC seriously suggested this, the Congress stepped in and that was the end of that. Require all commercials to be bunched on the hour and half hour, I don't know what that has to do with children's violence, but it is an arguable thing, I suppose.

It might be more desirable, I think, if it were economically desirable that the networks might come around to it. It is done in certain societies. The question of forbidding the networks to own anything other than—I don't know what they would end up with, under his proposal here—is something that presumably either the Justice Department or the FCC could do, if it felt that were the appropriate course of action.

I don't know what this long overdue across-the-board review of the impact is. I presume that is something that either the Commission or the Congress could do.

Senator **Pastore**. That was talked about yesterday.

Mr. **Burch**. Yes. Commissioner Johnson, because of his membership on the FCC, has somehow made television responsible for all of the ills of the earth. I am not here to be the apologist for commercial television, necessarily.

On the other hand, I think it is just somewhat overly simplistic to suggest that every single problem that we have can be traced back to the three network presidents. I think that is kind of foolish. We have lots of problems, but there are more problems than just network television.

Senator **Pastore**. Senator Baker.

Mr. **Burch**. Commissioner Wiley?

Mr. **Wiley**. I came with no prepared statement, but I do have a few comments that pertain solely to the subject of these hearings.

Senator **Pastore**. Would you wait just a moment, Mr. Wiley? I think we ought to finish with Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. If I may quickly respond to that, in terms of our power to provide the one-third prime time rule, it seems to me clearly we have that power in view of the fact that we have already provided a rule that affects 30 minutes per evening. If we can affect 30 minutes per evening, I don't know why we can't affect 1 hour per evening. As to the reluctant FCC, that is based on the fact that I made a motion that the FCC Commissioners go, and sit down and talk privately with the Federal Trade Commission Commissioners, and I couldn't get my Commission to even agree to go and talk to them.

Senator **Pastore**. What was the vote on that?

Mr. **Wiley**. As Commissioner Johnson well knows, that had nothing to do with counteradvertising. That was related simply to a meeting in which there was no set agenda. It absolutely had nothing to do with the subject we are talking about.

Mr. **Johnson**. I thought it did, but I think the fact we refused to meet with them is justification enough for that statement.

Mr. **Wiley**. The filing had not even been made at that time, Commissioner Johnson.

Senator **Pastore**. We are getting a good television program right here.

Mr. **Johnson**. As for the bunching, I think that relates to the demands for more violence. We have memoranda from network executives sent to writers saying, "Give me more sadism, more violence in the programs." That came out in the Dodd hearings, it is on the public record. And one of the impacts of putting the commercials every few minutes is that you have got to have something to hold the audience's attention over that commercial break. It does affect the contents of the programs. There is no question about it.

I would say, in general, the reason that I put these proposals together here is that they are related to violence. The power of the networks, the irresponsibility of the networks, the ability of the networks to disregard professional comment and governmental studies is in part a measure of the function of their economic power, their unwillingness to have the unsponsored time. In 1934 we were promised by, I believe it was Mr. Paley, although I could stand corrected, one of the network executives said that 70 percent of all time would be nonsponsored time on radio and television. Their unwillingness to engage in that today, I contend, does contribute to the use of violence in programing, and the general nonconstructive nature of programing, and does direct violence to what Congress had in mind in 1927 and 1934, based upon the industry representations.

As to television being responsible for all of the ills of the world, I have never contended that. There are a lot of problems in the world caused by things other than television. Although every Presidential Commission seems to find television implicated in one way or another.

The point is, as President Kennedy used to say, with great power goes great responsibility. And these gentlemen have great power, and they have not exercised great responsibility, and that is a moral failing, and it ought to be addressed as such in my judgment.

Mr. **Burch**. That is true of some government officials, I might point out.

Senator **Pastore**. Senator Baker.

Senator **Baker** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am reminded of a line of questioning yesterday that dealt with the distinction between physical violence, literally portrayed on television, dramatic violence that is shown in a fantasy context, and is clearly labeled as such, and emotional violence.

It is my impression from the statement of Commissioner Johnson that this must be one of the most violent statements that I have ever heard before any committee at any time since I have served in the Congress of the United States.

I allude particularly to the implication that there is a direct parallel between child molesting on the one hand, and children's programing on the other. I think this committee probably will reach the conclusion that there is some scientific linkage between violence on television and aggressive behavior on the part of some children under certain circumstances.

But my friend, Commissioner Johnson, I cannot equate that to being the same thing as molesting a child. It seems to me that that is a violence of a very special sort.

Mr. **Johnson**. You draw a distinction between molesting the body and molesting the brain, even though one may cause a lifetime of harm, and the other only a relatively less permanent harm?

Senator **Baker**. I think it is entirely clear, Mr. Johnson, that there is a very, very substantial distinction between a child molester in the sense that you make it, that is a person who physically molests a child, and those who are responsible for originating children's television in the United States in the 1970's. I think it is just as different as it can be, and I don't think any amount of slick talking is going to make me equate responsible people with child molesting, as far as television is concerned.

Mr. **Johnson**. What I am suggesting, Senator, is that that is the problem in our society. You can do it to one person at a time, and everyone becomes very outraged.

Suppose you were to take your child to a psychotherapist or psychiatrist because he had a propensity to violence, and that psychotherapist were to show your child television programs with violence in them. As a result of that, 2 years later, and some $20,000 later, you have a child who is more violent that he was originally. It would seem to me you would feel quite outraged by that.

What I am suggesting is that we ought to apply no less in the way of emotional outrage, but even more in the way of emotional outrage, to somebody who does it to millions of children at once, than we would apply to someone who does it to one child at a time. I appreciate the distinction, of course, between physical—

Senator **Baker.** What you are suggesting is an intricate line of logic that you have attempted to describe and failed, is supposed to make the American public equate in its mind the crime of child molesting with programming of children's television in 1970.

I think that is a violence of the most despicable kind. I think it is irresponsible, and unbecoming of a federal government official.

Mr. **Johnson.** I think it is a modest comparison in all respects, Senator. I think the crime they are committing is much worse, much worse, and I think history will so record them. I respect your position, and suspect there are other people who hold it, and there are some of them who serve on my staff. But I feel, Senator, after I have been here for over five and a half years and witnessed what this industry has done, there are no words that would be too strong to describe the outrage that you ought to feel, as I do, over what these gentlemen are doing, and what they are failing to do with the responsibilities we have given them as government, to serve in the public interest.

Senator **Baker.** I feel an outrage, Mr. Johnson, that you have brought to this hearing a trauma of emotionalism that will positively impede our progress in trying to arrive at a sensible solution to a real problem, and that is how to improve the quality of children's television. You have drug a red herring across the trail, you have made innuendos, charges of guilt of the greatest sort against people who have the responsibility for doing what ought to be done, to improve the quality of television.

Your statement is replete with innuendos and I think that is a violence to this society, at this time, at this place in history, that has come to be just as destuctive in terms of the psyche of adults as well as children, as that portrayed on television, which you are charged with trying to regulate.

Mr. **Johnson.** Well, I will stand on the record, Senator, of whatever history may show.

Senator **Pastore.** Would you be so courteous to the committee as to give us a copy of the first draft?

Mr. **Johnson.** After I heard Senator Baker's evaluation of this one, Senator, I would be reluctant, I think, to make those paragraphs that were stricken available to you.

Senator **Baker.** My violence is not to be feared. We would be glad to have it.

Senator **Pastore.** Mr. Moss.

Senator **Moss.** No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Pastore.** Mr. Lee.

Mr. **Lee.** Mr. Chairman, I have no written statement. I do want to say that the Chairman gave all of the Commissioners the courtesy of taking a look at this first draft and making an input into his statement. I agree in general with the statement; I think it is a good statement.

I think the Surgeon General and his committee made it very clear yesterday that there is a causal relationship, and that something has to be done.

The Chairman has stated to you that we are going to start panel discussions and hearings no later than the middle of May. I am hopeful that out of those discussions the various industries involved (the broadcasting industry, the advertising industry), and every other one that has some responsibility in this area, the social scientists, government officials, and the public can come up with some kind of a positive program in the near future.

I think it is going to take a lot of congressional involvement. I think maybe Congress may have to take some action. As the Chairman has said, we do not have the answers now, but we are earnestly seeking those answers.

Senator PASTORE. I merely want to say, Mr. Lee, that usually very definitive conclusions are not reached in hearings of this kind. These hearings are absolutely necessary in order to set the predicate for what needs to be done in order to bring about fruitful results. I would hope that the members of the Commission would engage themselves more in the future—I know they have done quite a bit in the past—through diplomatic and very productive negotiations, to bring about some immediate reform while we are thinking about long-range remedies, because this is a very sensitive area.

Under the law the Commission has no authority, that is I am speaking now of the Communication Act of 1934, to censor programs, and that law would have to be changed if you were to be able to censor.

Then you run against the First Amendment of the Constitution which forbids it.

There are certain limitations upon what actions the government can take. But after all, these people do come up for licenses, they do have a public responsibility, they are answerable to the Commission for the renewal of those licenses.

And there I think you see the way to bring about a true understanding. Through cooperation some remedies can come forth. I would hope that we are just not here exercising eloquence, rhetoric, and listening to scientific people and getting individual views and then ending up with nothing.

I think the Amedican people are very much concerned about violence on television. As I said yesterday, we are not talking about a complete eradication of violence, because violence is part of our daily lives. But it all depends on how you portray it. It all depends on how you depict it, how you do it. What we are talking about here is violence for the sake of violence. What we are talking about here is excessive violence.

Those are the things we are talking about. Now I realize we have many points of views within our society. Not everyone receives or gives the same interpertation to a set of facts as the next fellow. But the fact still remains that we have to face life the way it is. Not everyone in this country is an intellectual, not everyone in this country is sophisticated enough to meet some of these challenges.

The fact still remains that the television belongs to the families of America and we have to deal with it on that score. The minute you begin to tamper with the families of America, and you begin to pollute the minds of the families of America, you are going to destroy the best society in the world. We have to avoid that.

Now I think there have been exaggerations here, and maybe some people will underestimate the necessity for doing something. But somewhere along the line each of us will have to assume our responsibility and do what needs to be done.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Chairman, I couldn't agree more with you. I think the Chairman has stated that the Commission intends to take action. I would be very disappointed if we do not. I agree that a lot of voluntary action on the part of the industries can and should be taken immediately. I am hopeful it will.

I would like to make two additional points. A point was made yesterday and again today that the potential of television simply hasn't been exhausted or exploited to even a small degree. I would certainly agree with that. I have worked for the last 10 years in trying to promote educational television. I spent a great deal of time on the Commission trying to promote educational television. The attention simply has not been paid by the various people involved in it. I do not blame the broadcasters for the failure to use the full potential of television. I think the educational community, the health community, the welfare community, officials and everyone else involved are lagging far behind in the use of television.

I think much more could be done. I think it is one of the things that has to be done if we are to solve some of the social problems we have. And so as I say, we can't point the finger only at the broadcasting industry. We can point it at a good many areas of government and the communities, in general.

Senator PASTORE. I realize that, Mr. Lee, but the jurisdiction of the Commission and the jurisdiction of this subcommittee is with reference, to the broadcasting industry. We are not here to decide the fate of other industries. That is beyond our jurisdiction. We are talking about the broadcasting industry here.

While it is true there are many other contributors, we want to know here what contribution the broadcasting industry makes in this particular area. I don't think it serves our purpose to say that others are being just as bad or making a contribution. It is our responsibility here to find out what television and the broadcasting industry is contributing to this problem, and to solve it if we possible can.

Would you agree with that?

Mr. LEE. I would agree with that. But I also would like to point out that it is the Commission's responsibility to promote the best use of these facilities in that other people are involved other than the broadcast industry. Because of the fact that we continually hear about not using the potential of television to educate and promote social welfare, I think it is well to point out there are other people who have some responsibility and have to work with the broadcast industry.

I would like to make one other point. I was tempted to break in when Senator Baker asked his question of the Chairman about the establishment of some kind of a nongovernmental review board. This was pointed out several times yesterday, as the Senator indicated, it would be desirable to have this type of thing. I think it would be very helpful, but I do want to point out that there is a large number of children, a substantial percentage—I don't know what it is—that do not have adequate parental guidance and that such a board would have little influence on those children.

And we do have a responsibility to those children. Those are the children that need the help most.

Senator BAKER. You may have a higher responsibility to them than to those who are in a position to be the beneficiaries of parental control.

Mr. LEE. I think so. I am not concerned about Dean Burch's two children, for example. I think when a parent takes that kind of interest in a child, they can give the proper guidance and the proper interpretation. I am a father of five children. I was never concerned about my children. Sure, I would have liked to have seen a different type of programing for them, but if they do have parental guidance, much can be interpreted and explained.

But I think we must keep in mind the very hard core children who are in real need of some very progressive television programing.

Mr. LEE. Families where both the mother and father have to work, one is absent; this is the problem that is really the acute one.

Senator PASTORE. Any other questions of Mr. Lee?

Mr. Wiley.

Mr. WILEY. Thank you, Senator.

As I said, I have no prepared statement today. I would like to commend you for the leadership you have shown in this area, because I think these hearings will serve as a catalyst for further Commission action and further industry action. I think that is to be applauded.

I have, frankly, no fundamental disagreement with the Chairman in this area. Like him, I think there are actions which the industry, and to some extent the government, can take. And also, like Chairman Burch, I am additionally concerned with the possibilities in this area of overkill. As so vividly exemplified by Commissioner Johnson's grievously overstated remarks today, an example of overkill, in my opinion, would be the elimination of all cartoons from the air, I would agree that children should not be left to their own desires alone, but I do think we have to remember that children are children and very frankly, that television is and should be, to a large extent, an entertainment media.

I think that as to cartoons, as a parent of three young children, I frankly question the ill effects of some cartoon villains. I agree with Senator Baker that we have to make some discretionary judgments in this area, between fantasyland material and real life material, with particular emphasis on what I would consider emotional matters. I think that is where some of the real evil may lie.

Frankly, I am also very aware of the First Amendment concerns in this area. We are foreclosed by the Communications Act from censorship and I might say I find Commissioner Johnson's position in this area to conflict greatly with the position he took when we made modest attempts to try to induce broadcasters to be cognizant of the drug-oriented material that they might be putting over the air.

There was a tremendous outcry on First Amendment grounds from the Commissioner, yet I don't see that same concern in this area. I have that concern in this area. It seems to me this is one area in which self-regulation can and must work. I think some good faith progress is being made. I don't agree that network officials are an evil, vicious influence in our society. I think this has been a remarkable industry, one that needs substantial improvement in many areas; I think a lot of network officials would agree with me in this area.

I think you and this committee can expect from this Commission, and will receive a responsible and pragmatic meeting of our own obligations in this area, without regard to rank partisanship, gross exaggeration, and what I regard as sterile rhetoric.

Thank you.

Senator PASTORE. Any questions of Commissioner Wiley?

(No response.)

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Mr. BURCH. Thank you, Senator.

Senator PASTORE. We will now hear from Dr. Liebert.

Dr. Liebert, we are honored and pleased with your presence today and we await with great anticipation what you have to tell us.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. LIEBERT, PH. D., DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT STONY BROOK, N.Y.

Dr. LIEBERT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee:

As a child psychologist, I have specialized in children's imitative learning. My work for the Surgeon General's inquiry included two research contributions and an overview of the literature on television and children's behavior. Because of the latter, I had an opportunity, over the past year, to read and study all of the technical documents, research reports, and summaries, as they were prepared, and to evaluate them in the light of past and other recent research.

I shall try here briefly to summarize, from this vantage point, the state of our present knowledge and reflect on some of its probable implications for the future.

Virtually every American home has at least one television set; many now have two. And they are used. It has been estimated that a child born today will, by the age of 18, have spent more time watching television than in any other single activity but sleep. Exposure to this medium thus constitutes a more pervasive, common experience during the youngster's formative years than has been known in any other large society through the whole history of civilized man. We now know a great deal about the effects of this exposure.

In design, of course, much of what children are exposed to on the air today is intended to be entertainment and, doubtless, much of it is entertaining. But children are also taught by what they see. Perhaps the best documented and least disputed affirmation that can be made is that virtually all children can and do learn from television. What they learn depends on what they are shown.

Based on the extensive surveys by Prof. George Gerbner and his associates at the Annenburg School of Communications, we know that what children are shown on contemporary television entertainment is heavily saturated with violence. Gerbner (1972) reported that the frequency of overt physical violence during prime time and Saturday morning network programs during the Fall of 1969 was such that eight in 10 plays contained violence, with the frequency of violent episodes running about eight per program hour. Children's cartoons, which have long been the most violent of programs, actually increased their lead in violence portrayals from 1967 to 1969.

Indeed in 1969 it was difficult to find a children's cartoon program that did not contain violence. And may I express some concern over the suggestion that there is a distinct downward trend in the amount of violence on television now in 1972. Indeed that is a possibility, but I hope we can discriminate between those facts that have been systematically researched and one's intuition as to what probably happens.

Our first question, then, might be whether children actually learn new violent and aggressive behaviors from watching television. An enormous body of scientific literature, spearheaded in large measure by the efforts of Professor Albert Bandura of Stanford University, has shown that such learning does occur. Bandura's findings, widely published and cited both in the professional literature and in earlier congressional hearings, do not need to be detailed here. Review after review has concurred with Professor W. Weiss' recent statement that "there is little doubt that, by displaying forms of aggression or modes of criminal and violent behavior, the media are 'teaching' and people are 'learning'."

If children can learn aggressive behavior from watching television, does that mean that such learning will, in turn, lead to the instigation of a greater willingness to actually behave aggressively? Extensive scientific inquiries both prior to, and conducted for, the Surgeon General's exploration, show that the answer is "yes."

Television is a direct instigator of aggression. An example to illustrate the logic that underlies some of this research, and also to show the manner in which evidence continues to accumulate, consider a recently reported study with which the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee did not deal. The investigation, conducted by Faye, Steuer, James Applefield, and Rodney Smith, was recently published in the Journal of Experimental Child Psychology. Designed to show the absolute degree of control which TV violence can have on naturally occurring aggressive behavior, this particular study involved 10 normal youngsters, the entire population of those enrolled in the preschool of the University of North Carolina's Child Development Center. The children, boys and girls, comprised a racially and socioeconomically mixed group who knew each other before the study began.

First, they were matched into pairs on the basis of the amount of time that they spent watching television at home. Next, to establish the degree to which aggressive behavior occurred among these youngsters before any modification of their television diets, each was carefully observed for 10 sessions, in play with other children, and the frequency of aggressive responses recorded.

Steuer and her associates used a demanding measure of physical interpersonal aggression, including: (a) hitting or pushing another child, (b) kicking another child, (c) assaultive contact with another child which included squeezing, choking, or holding down, and (d) throwing an object at another child from a distance of at least one foot. Only these severe acts of physical aggression were recorded. The baseline established a remarkable degree of consistency within each pair prior to the modification of television diet. No one could say, then, that the children differed from one another at the beginning.

Next, Steuer and her associates asked about the effects of television. One child in each pair observed, on eleven difference days, a single aggressive television program taken directly from Saturday morning program offerings, while the other member of the pair observed a nonaggressive television program. Subsequent observations of the children at play provided continuous measures of interpersonal physical aggressive behavior by each child. Changes from the original measures, if any, would have to be caused by TV effects.

By the end of the eleven sessions, the two groups had departed significantly from one another in terms of the frequency of interpersonal aggression.

Senator BAKER. May I interrupt, Doctor?

Did I understand you to say that changes were made in the TV exposure?

Dr. LIEBERT. That is correct, the children were matched at the beginning, behavior was observed prior to the modification of the television and its equivalents. The only difference in their subsequent treatment and experience was the kind of television they watched on subsequent days, so if they diverge now in their aggressive behavior, it would seem to be directly attributable to new TV experiences, the only way the children differed in the experience.

Senator BAKER. Except for evolution, the natural development of their personality.

Dr. LIEBERT. That is possible, but in terms of considering children over a period of approximately two weeks, it would be most unlikely, I think, that by chance this erstwhile equivalent pairs of children would depart markedly for any other reason.

Senator BAKER. How many pairs were involved?

Dr. LIEBERT. Five pairs.

Senator BAKER. Ten children in total were involved.

Dr. LIEBERT. That is correct. In fact, for every pair, the child who observed aggressive television programing had become more aggressive than his mate, who watched neutral fare. In most of the cases, these changes were truly striking. Steuer's data are shown, graphically, in the written version of my statement. The results are not new or unique.

Based on more than thirty other studies, involving thousands of normal children. Dr. Steinfeld's Committee reported to him: "As matters now stand, the weight of the experimental evidence from the present series of studies, as well as from prior research, suggest that viewing filmed violence had an observable effect on some children in the direction of increasing their aggressive behavior." (1972, p. 67).

It was further noted, in the Committee's summary statement, that "there is a convergence of the fairly substantial experimental evidence for short-run causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and . . . from field studies that extensive violence viewing precedes some longrun manifestations of aggressive behavior." (1972, p. 10).

Social scientists are carefully trained to avoid statements of certainty. In fact, even in the physical and biological sciences, professional and scientific reports are always couched in terms of probabilities rather than absolutes. Notwithstanding this tradition, it seems, to me, that it has been shown beyond the reasonable shadow of a doubt that exposure to television violence, sometimes for periods of only a few hours, and in some studies even for a few minutes, can and often does instigate aggressive behavior that would not otherwise occur among entirely normal children.

HOW GENERAL IS THE EFFECT?

Just as not all people who go to college are successful, no one would expect that every child who watches ten minutes of violence, whether in an experiment or at home, will suddenly erupt into aggressive behavior.

Senator **Pastore**. That long buzz means there is a vote in progress in the floor of the Senate. It will take us about 10 to 15 minutes to vote and come back. Your presentation is very important and so interesting to this Committee that we would like to hear it all. We would like to hear it in an unhurried way. So I would suggest at this time that we recess for lunch and return at 2 o'clock.

Is that satisfactory to you?

Dr. **Liebert**. That certainly is.

Senator **Pastore**. Would that be satisfactory to the other witnesses? I think it would be better, because if we keep going to conclude all of the witnesses now, we will run until about 1:30 and you will be tired just sitting here. I think it is best for us to recess.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator **Pastore**. Dr. Liebert and the other witnesses who are here today, we are moving fast on the floor of the Senate. There will be interruptions, so that we can go vote. I would hope you will be patient and bear with us, because I do want to complete the witness list for today. There are a lot of busy people who have traveled long and far to come here, and I really don't want them to be detained any more than is absolutely necessary.

You may proceed now, Doctor.

Dr. **Liebert**. I had remarked that the evidence seems to be uniformly clear that children can learn aggressive behaviors from watching television, and had given one example of recent research showing that such observations can also instigate aggressive behavior.

I would like to mention that that is, of course, just one of many, many studies involving thousands of children that have shown such an effect, leading the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee to point to a causal relationship in drawing their conclusions.

I had also observed that we have a tradition in the social sciences of always talking about probabilities, rather than certainties. But notwithstanding that, I think it is appropriate to say that beyond a reasonable shadow of a doubt, such a relationship has been shown between TV violence viewing and aggressive behavior.

Let me turn to the generality of that effect. We know that just as not all people that go to Congress are successful, no one would expect that every child who watches 10 minutes of violence, whether in an experiment or at home, will suddenly erupt into aggressive behavior. We must ask about the pervasiveness of the effect disclosed by these studies. The committee's report states that the observed effect might hold for "* * * a small portion or a substantial proportion of the total population of young television viewers. We cannot estimate the size of the fraction, however, since the available evidence does not come from cross-section samples of the entire American population of children."

I believe Mr. Burch addressed himself to that very quote this morning.

But the term "cross-section sample" has a rather subtle, technical meaning which may have led to some confusion. The available evidence is based on youngsters from every conceivable type of background—both rural and urban—and has included samples of both middle and lower-class children from the north, the south, the midwest, and the west coast. No region has been unrepresented, no economic group omitted, and no ethnic minority systematically excluded.

One team described its own results as showing "* * * for relatively average children from average home environments continual exposure to violence is positively related to acceptance of aggression as a mode of behavior."

The majority of the pertinent investigators whose work came to the committee's attention might have described their own findings in the same way—and most did.

Are some children "predisposed" to be affected by TV violence? research to know that at least an occasional unstable individual might

The committee's report correctly noted that "we did not need research to know that at least an occasional unstable individual might get sufficiently worked up by some show to act in an impetuous way."

Thus, appropriately, none of the investigations focused on "unstable individuals." The subjects were almost all normal children from average American homes.

It is within this group that we have seen a significant, causal relationship between viewing TV violence and various measures of aggression in many children.

It has been suggested, however, that the effect is limited to children who are "predisposed" to it. How should one interpret this statement?

At times, for a variety of reasons, each of us is somewhat more or less predisposed to work hard, eat a steak, or go to a football game; likewise, since not every child will become more aggressive after watching a particular sequence of television violence, we might say that some children are more "predisposed" to show the effect at a particular time than are others.

It is presumably in this vein that we should take the committee's observation that the causal sequence is very likely applicable only to those who are predisposed to it. But, if we so view the remark, then we must be careful to understand what has been said.

As Dr. Steven Chaffee, who made substantial contributions to the research and overviewed the correlational studies, has recently noted:

> The "predisposition to aggression" limitation is to some extent a near universal or tautological proposition, in that most children almost surely have at least some latent aggressive tendencies and are thus "predisposed" to aggression if so stimulated. At the other extreme, it could be taken as a statement that only "a few bad kids," presumably someone else's, not yours or mine, can be influenced by media violence * * *. But several factors of the samples were statistically controlled partialled on such factors as sex, socio-economic status, age,

and similar variables that often "wash out" spurious relationships in social research; the link between violence viewing and aggressiveness remained, in both experimental and field survey studies. (1972, page 12)

Going on to discuss other evidence as well, Dr. Chaffee concludes, "Perhaps a more defensible conclusion would be that there is a small subgroup of habitually passive and unaggressive children who will not be stimulated to perform aggressively regardless of what they see on television."

The research, as I see it, generally favors Chaffee's analysis. The effects are not limited to a small number of peculiarly predisposed children.

Moreover, aggressive actions are by their character social phenomena, so direct instigation is not the only way an average child can be harmed by violence on television.

Suppose, for example, that a particular youngster either never watches aggressive television shows, or is for some reason unaffected by them. He may still be profoundly influenced, as the target of aggression, simply because one or more of his playmates has become more aggressive as a result of viewing television violence and selects him as a victim.

For this reason, there is an important sense in which we can say with confidence that any and every American child can be affected by the present TV violence offerings.

What should be done?

The Surgeon General's committee asked: "How much contribution to the violence of our society is made by extensive violent television viewing by our youth?" Page 7.

The answer appears, to me, to be that such viewing makes a significant contribution. It, is not, of course, the only contributing factor to aggression. Cigarette smoking is by no means the only, or even the most influential, factor contributing to heart disease; moderate exercise is not the only factor which contributes to good health.

The question is, really: "How much influence does any one factor have to show in order to be of social concern and practical importance?"

On the basis of evaluation of many lines of converging evidence, the following judgment seems, to me, warranted: The demonstrated teaching and instigating effects of aggressive television fare upon children are of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action.

From the 1906 Food and Drug Act, governmental offices have taken action to eliminate potential health hazards. It might be argued that entertainment fare should be outside the domain of such restrictions. But it already is squarely in it.

Certainly, governmental control over the level of violence on television would be an extreme step which may have some undesirable effects. But there are alternatives. Violence is not intrinsic to entertainment offerings, and voluntary control is possible.

My comments thus far have focused upon the instigating effects of television for aggressive behavior. But that is only one side of the issue, the negative one.

In an extremely important experimental field study, conducted by Drs. Aletha Stein and Lynette Friedrich, it was shown that exposure to even a relatively brief diet of prosocial television programs, in this case, the series "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood," can foster a variety of positive, cooperative behaviors in some children.

Other research, from many laboratories, including our own, have suggested that children may learn substantive academic lessons, to share with and help others, and to develop a variety of positive social skills through television programs.

The evidence also suggests that programs which are specifically designed with psychological and educational principles in mind can prove to be highly enjoyable to youngsters while effectively transmitting positive lessons to them and thus producing significant benefits for society.

Therefore, I would like to issue a specific call for, one, in immediate and sharp decrease in the amount of violence in programs directed primarily to children; and, two, an equally enthusiastic effort to increase the number of programs designed to teach positive lessons.

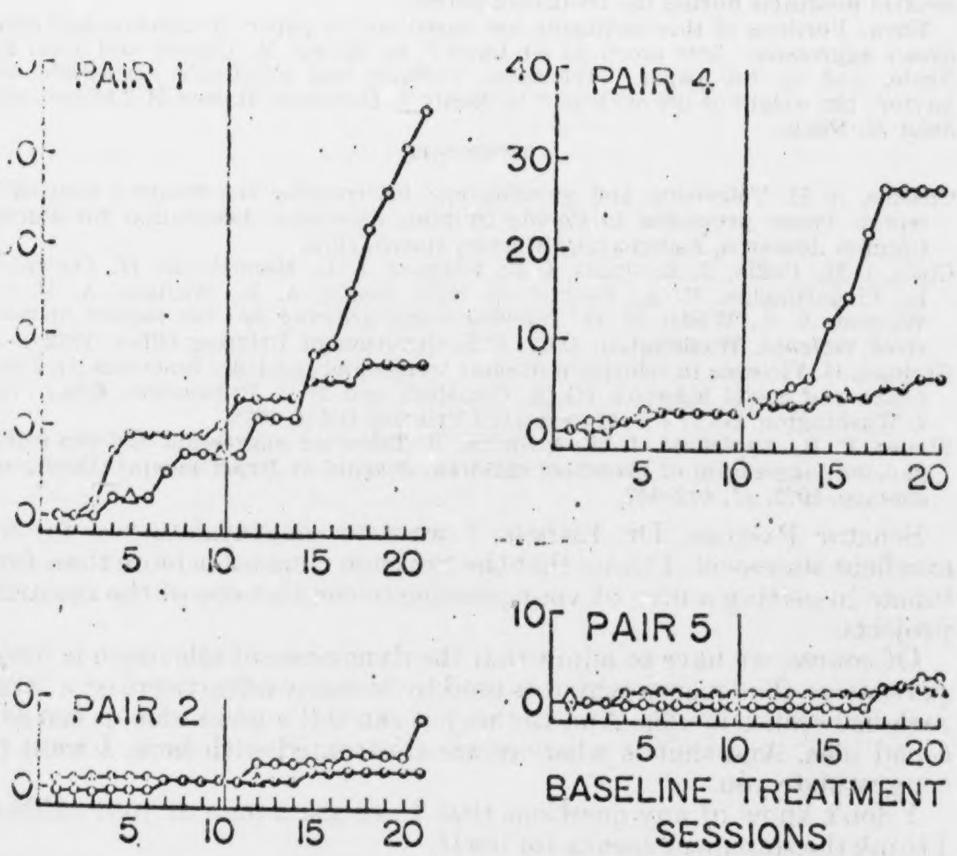
Those of us who have taken occasion, on the basis of the research, to criticize TV's present offerings, may be misunderstood. I think for most of us, and I can say surely for myself, that it is not the medium but only its present message that we are criticizing.

Television, although it will undergo many metamorphoses as cassettes, cartridges, cable TV, and the like, emerge, is here to stay. And that, I think, is a good thing.

Television is a powerful teacher. In a complex society like our own, powerful and effective teachers are very much needed.

At the same time, the greater the power of the teacher, the greater is its capacity to work for either good or harm. The choice is ours.

(The attachments follow:)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The findings of Steuer, Applefield, and Smith. Experimental *Ss* are those children who observed aggressive television programs, while control *Ss* observed neutral programs during the treatment period.

NOTE: Portions of this testimony are based on the paper "Television and children's aggression: how much do we know?" by Robert M. Liebert and John M. Neale, and on the paper, "Television violence and children's aggressive behavior: the weight of the evidence" by Emily S. Davidson, Robert M. Liebert, and John M. Neale.

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Senator PASTORE. Dr. Liebert, I want to congratulate you for an excellent statement. I think that the Surgeon General is more than fortunate in getting a man of your prestige to conduct one of the research projects.

Of course, we have to admit that the dynamism of television is itself persuasive. The reason why it is used by so many advertisers on a large scale is because it sells. And the way it can sell a good idea, it can sell a bad idea. And that is what we are confronted with here. I want to congratulate you.

I don't know of any questions that I can ask a man of your caliber. I think the statement speaks for itself.

Did you find any fault with the Committee's Report, the Scientific Advisory Committee's Report? Were you more or less surprised by the report, disappointed by it, or displeased?

Dr. LIEBERT. Let me describe to you very briefly the history of my reactions, if I may.

The first thing I came to know about, except for the research which I had occasion to read as it was produced, was a headline in the New York Times with the byline of Mr. Jack Gould, "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth."

He also had an interpretation of the report summary, which I think was distinctly misleading. When I then had an opportunity to read the report, I did find that in my judgment, from my knowledge of the evidence, it was extremely conservative, and while it is likely that most or perhaps almost all of the statements therein could be defended, the overall impact of that document, I think, was for many people a "however" report, which was *Newsweek's* first remark when their staff had a chance to read it. Whether it is appropriate to be disappointed or not, I don't know. Rather, I would suggest that our task is to look to the evidence at hand, to generate a reasonable interpretation of it, and to move from there.

We can very much go to the side of error, if we paid too much attention to issues that might be thought of as political in that report.

Senator PASTORE. Were you here yesterday?

Dr. **Liebert**. No, I was not.

Senator **Pastore**. I wish you had been. Because I was very much pleased with the testimony of the Advisory Committee. I more or less had the same doubts as you had, from reading the newspapers, and the headlines. Some said it was a whitewash, others said there was a causal relationship between violence on television and aggressiveness in children. It was rather confusing.

As you read the report, of course, it was conservative and cautious. The members of the Committee all admitted that yesterday for the simple reason that they were trying to achieve a unanimous report. Otherwise they would have come out with 12 different views, and that would have been even more confusing. If they did that, all we had to do was read the research and make our own judgment. That was the reason for it. But if you listened to each of them, and the position each took, I don't think they were very far away from what you said here today.

Dr. **Liebert**. I am certainly glad to hear you.

Senator **Pastore**. Thank you very much.

There is a vote going on, and I will go vote. Then we will call the next witness, Dr. Berkowitz. Is he here?

I will be back. Then after that, we have Dr. Lefkowitz, who is going to be joined by several other people.

(Recess.)

STATEMENT OF DR. LEONARD BERKOWITZ, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WIS.

Dr. **Berkowitz**. Thank you, Senator. I will try not to repeat Dr. Liebert and yesterday's speakers too much.

As in virtually every other human endeavor, evaluations of television and movied violence have to rest ultimately on judgments. There are no unerring signposts to guide these assessments, and all we can do is try to make our judgments as reasonable as possible. Judgments certainly played a major part in the formation of the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General and in the preparation of their summary report.

In my opinion several of the most important of these can and should be questioned.

One of these debatable judgments has to do with the Committee's composition. I will let others talk about the dubious wisdom of allowing the television networks to veto potential Committee members supposedly in order to rule out bias and preconceptions while at the same time possibly stacking the deck by including people who have had strong ties with the television industry.

Instead, I would like to deal with another aspect of the selection criteria, something that points to a serious neglect on the part of those who assembled the Committee in the first place.

There are very few sudden, revolutionary breakthroughs in the development of science, any science. Progress generally is achieved gradually through patient and continued work. Absolute truth is not revealed by one or even a few supposedly "crucial" investigations. Even the research done for the Advisory Committee coordinates hope to provide any definite answer in and of itself.

Instead scientists look for accumulating evidence showing a consistent pattern of support for a particular theoretical proposition. This also means that in evaluating any single study we have to determine not only the adequacy of its methodology but also we have to ask how consistent are its findings with the results previously obtained by other investigations.

The scientists who can do this best are those who are most intimately familiar with the intricacies of the given research area. They are the ones who typically are best able to smell out the hidden difficulties and pitfalls and who can best evaluate the consistency of the results.

Since the impact of televised violence is best assessed through well planned experiments, the Committee should have had more members who were thoroughly familiar with experimental studies in this particular area. When the National Institutes of Health establish committees to evaluate research on cancer they make sure to include many people who are not only competent scientists generally but, more important, are themselves expert investigators in this very particular field.

This was not done in the case of the Advisory Committee. I do not mean to question the general scientific competence of the Committee members. But no matter how good they are overall, they could have benefited from the expertise of persons with specific experience in experimental research into the consequences of television and movie aggression. From my viewpoint NIH showed bad judgment in not adequately appreciating the importance of this very special kind of experience.

One of the Advisory Committee members has been quoted as saying that the report's strength lies in the committee's unanimity. I disagree.

The real strength of the report lies in the consistency of the findings, a consistency among the studies sponsored by the Advisory Committee and also with a large body of research co-ducted by other investigators outsides of the Surgeon General's program. Because of these consistent results we can say with some confidence that the kind of aggression frequently shown on American television and movie screens does raise the probability that people in the audience will act aggressively themselves.

Senator Pastore. Is there anything in all of the research papers that could be construed as indicating otherwise?

Dr. Berkowitz. Well, there is one study by Dr. Feshback and others in which Dr. Feshback draws a somewhat different kind of conclusion, but that is a very debatable conclusion, I might say, and a great, great mass of evidence goes sharply to the contrary.

Senator Pastore. How do you consider the competency of the men who actually conducted the research?

Dr. Berkowitz. Oh, the people who conducted the research—well, I have nothing but praise for the people who conducted the research. Indeed, I have nothing but praise for the general competency of the people on the Advisory Committee. I do not mean to impugn their motives or their general competency, but any individual cannot be an expert in all fields.

Senator Pastore. That is true.

Dr. Berkowitz. And it is the appreciation of the significance of the results that I am dealing with. The Advisory Committee was charged with evaluating the total pattern of findings; to evaluate that they should have had people who had specific expertise in the particular research modes that were most likely to be employed.

Senator Pastore. I asked the same question of Dr. Liebert, and I ask it of you. I don't think you were here yesterday, were you?

Dr. Berkowitz. No.

Senator Pastore. I wish you had been, and I wish that somehow, if you are interested, you would read the record of the various statements made by the members of the Advisory Committee. They appeared to be a little more positive than the report appeared.

Now whether the unanimity of the report gave it strength or weakness I do not know. But I was somewhat impressed with what each had to say individually. As a matter of fact, it was pretty much indicated that at times the discussions among them got pretty heated as to what they should finally say. And like you say, maybe it was strength and maybe it wasn't strength. Your position was that it——

Dr. Berkowitz. Watered it down.

Senator Pastore. It watered it down. Well, when you try to be unanimous, of course, you have to comprise a lot of conflicting views. But as they talked individually yesterday I was very much impressed and much better satisfied.

Dr. Berkowitz. I think a new consensus seems to be evolving at perhaps a stronger leve than had initially existed, under the influence of hearings and statements made by Dr. Liebert and others.

Senator Pastore. All right, sir.

Dr. Berkowitz. Shall I continue?

Senator Pastore. Yes.

Dr. Berkowitz. There are differing judgments and even hot arguments about the kinds of persons who are adversely affected by TV violence. Despite the protestations of several Committee members, a good many readers—and not only those who read The New York Times—believe the report unduly minimized the generality of this effect, that there was an undue minimization. For example, on page 17 the report states that the causal influence of televised violence "is very likely applicable only to some children who are predisposed in this direction."

The implication seems clear: only a relatively few bad children will be stimulated to aggression. Here we can see how helpful it would have been to have had Committee members more familiar with the total package of research in this particular research area. The consistent results obtained in a great number of experiments carried out by many investigators in widely differing settings and with a wide variety of subjects, very few of whom were emotionally disturbed, indicate on the contrary that observed aggression can evoke aggressive reactions from many people.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that while the focus of this particular Committee is on the behavior of children and while most of the discussion has been about the behavior of children, I myself have only done research with adults and we find the same effects: the impact of televised violence is by no means confined solely to young children; adults are also affected behaviorally.

Senator Pastore. Depending upon their temperaments and the emotional qualities of the individual.

Dr. BERKOWITZ. I would like to even make a stronger statement, and that is that the hyperaggressive persons are not the only ones who can be affected because at any one time an individual may be in a state that permits even him, who is otherwise quite normal, quit unaggressive, to be susceptable to the impact of the violence on the screen.

All of us are capable of being affected and indeed we find in our research that very normal college students, very normal young adults, in fact sometimes even older people than that, can be affected if they are momentarily so inclined. That holds for all of us. It is not only children; it is adults who can be affected.

One of the Committee members, the Advisory Committee members, put it very well in a letter to me. "I personally would not have made much of the question of what proportion of the population was affected since my personal conviction is that the entire population is affected but the effect is manifest in behavior in only a proportion of them. For the rest countervailing forces"—in other words, the situation operating at the moment, these countervailing forces "keep the effect from surfacing in behavior" for most people.

I think the consistent research findings support this analysis, and I wish the Committee report had made the same point. Bad persons, children or adults, are not the only ones influenced to aggression.

The Advisory Committee was explicitly instructed not to make any policy recommendations, and so I would now like to turn from the Committee report and face the question of the social implications of this research. If I may, I would like to go beyond the scope of this Committee hearing and raise some points that have, I think, more general implications.

This past January Anthony Burgess, author of the novel "A Clockwork Orange," enthusiastically defended the movie version of his book, saying "no evidence has ever been adduced in a court of law that a work of art can stimulate antisocial behavior" (London Evening News, January 31, 1972).

Well, we certainly cannot prove that any one violent act was caused exclusively or even mainly by a movie or TV program the individual had watched. Human behavior is much too complex and media effects are usually too weak for us to be sure how any one person will behave after a specific instance of viewing aggression on the screen. But the available evidence does permit us to say that many portrayals of aggression on the TV and movie screen do increase the chances that some people in the audience will act aggressively themselves.

If we play the odds and consider that TV and movie audiences number in the tens of millions, we should not dismiss this probability of increased aggression out of hand even though the likelihood that any one person will be influenced might be very low.

What we do about this is again a matter of judgment. I have strong misgivings about censorship and do not care to impose my taste and values on other people. What our society has to decide, however, is whether the great amount of violence in television and especially in the movies poses an important threat to other values that most of us also cherish.

I think it is also clear that the TV and movie industries should not justify this excessive violence by blithely saying this is what people want. Violence evidently enhances the popularity of movies and TV programs. But it is quite likely that some of the factors that make watching aggression enjoyable also contribute to the violent consequences. Indeed this is suggested by one of the Advisory Committee's studies; the more the viewers enjoy seeing the violence on the screen the greater is the probability that they will be stimulated to aggression themselves. In other words, the fact that these programs are so popular is a cause for concern.

Popularity is not a sufficient excuse. Civilization has learned over the centuries that some kinds of activities, such as cock fighting, should be restrained even though they may be quite popular. These activities help bring out the worst in people, and so they have been condemned.

Rather than impose an official censorship, I myself hope that the writers and directors who create movies and TV programs and the people who produce them will exert self-restraint, although I am somewhat sceptical about whether they will, but I hope they will.

For theoretical and empirical reasons I cannot go into here, I am less concerned about violent films depicting blood and gore and showing victims suffering than about those movies and programs that justify and even glorify aggression, a movie such as "Straw Dogs." These latter films are the ones most likely to lower inhibitions against aggression and even stimulate views into violence. How the artist and producer portray aggression does matter.

In the discussion of "A Clockwork Orange" that I mentioned earlier, Anthony Burgess denied that the artist had any social responsibility other than to transcribe the real world.

"Art," he said, "initiates nothing except itself."

Unfortunately the mass media are not that innocent. Artists can influence how other people will respond to the world around them and therefore do have a responsibility to other persons as well as to themselves.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much, Dr. Berkowitz.

I am going to ask you a question—I have to rush now to vote. I would like to know from you, you were one of those who was vetoed; is that correct?

Dr. BERKOWITZ. Yes.

Senator PASTORE. I would like to find out from you if you have any impression why they did that to you.

I will be back.

Dr. BERKOWITZ. Okay.

(Recess.)

Senator PASTORE. Doctor, have you got the question?

Dr. BERKOWITZ. I even had time to talk to Dr. Rubinstein about it. I understand that the networks did not have to give an explanation. I assume that it was felt that I had my mind already made up, and I would therefore be a biased participant.

Senator PASTORE. You mean you had researched this field before?

Dr. BERKOWITZ. I had done research before, and because I had done the research before, I guess they felt I would have preconceptions.

Senator PASTORE. I see. Well, Doctor, I want to thank you for coming. As I said to Dr. Liebert, your statement speaks for itself, and we are very grateful for your presence.

Dr. Lefkowitz, and will you bring up your associates, as well.

STATEMENT OF MONROE M. LEFKOWITZ, PH. D., NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE, ALBANY, N.Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD D. ERON, PH. D., UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO CIRCLE; LEOPOLD O. WALDER, PH. D., BEHAVIOR RESEARCH CONSULTANTS, GREENBELT, MD.; AND L. ROWELL HUESMANN, PH. D., YALE UNIVERSITY

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Mr. Chairman, on my left is Dr. Rowell Huesmann of Yale University, and on my right is Dr. Leonard Eron of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, and on my far right is Dr. Leopold Walde of Behavior Consultants in Greenbelt, Md. The three were associated with me on this project.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you, sir.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Our presentation to the Senate Subcommittee on Commerce will consist of a brief statement of the salient aspects of our research: "Television Violence and Child Aggression: A Followup Study," Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder, and Huesmann, 1971.

Subsequently we will present a critique of the interpretation of our findings by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

Finally, we will present to the present committee a recommendation concerning the Surgeon General's report, and some observations and suggestions pertaining to violence on television.

Now that the Surgeon General's committee seems to have reversed its published position, I am not going to read this entire 18-page statement. However, I would like to submit the entire statement for the record.

Senator PASTORE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Essentially, with the aid of two charts, I will attempt to summarize the study. Our findings are based on 427 boys and girls over a 10-year span. The first chart shows—

Senator PASTORE. Why don't you do this, Doctor, why don't you sit up there and hold it in such a position that everyone in the room can see it. That is it, fine.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. The first chart shows that there is a highly significant relation between boys' preference for violent television in the third grade, and their aggressiveness 10 years later.

Furthermore, the pattern of correlations displayed supports the observations that early viewing of TV violence is one of the causes of later aggression.

The second chart shows that the casual effect of TV violence on aggression is not a function of the level of aggression at the third grade. Whether or not the child was high, medium or low in aggression in the third grade, exposure to TV violence increased his aggressiveness by age 19.

(The charts follow:)

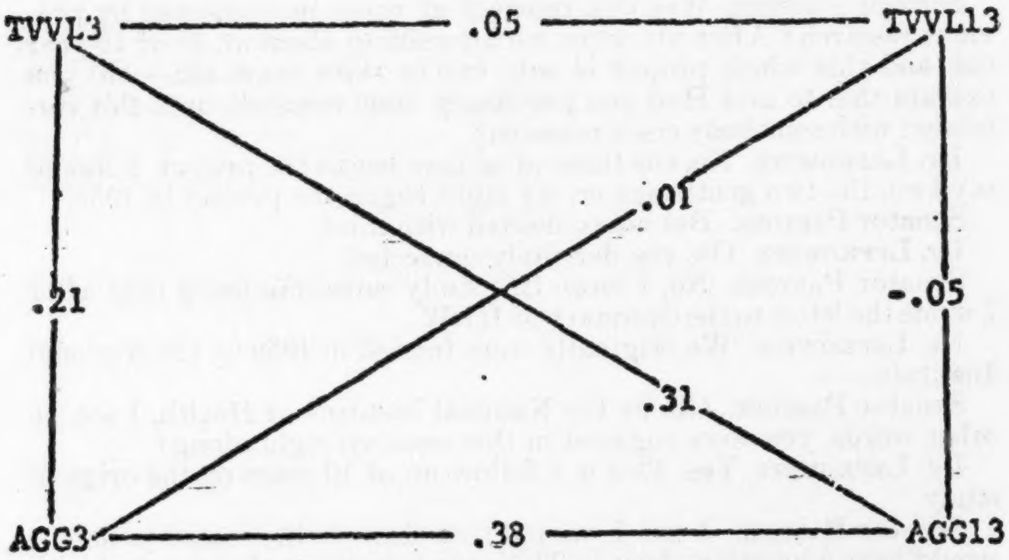

FIGURE 1. The Correlations between Television Violence and Aggression for 211 Boys over a Ten Year Lag.

TABLE 1.—MEAN AGGRESSION SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF TV VIOLENCE RATINGS OF PROGRAMS PREFERRED BY BOYS IN 3D GRADE

TVVL3	AGG13 N	 Mean	 Percen increase
Low	31	51.39	
Medium	139	81.39	59
High	14	164.64	102
Total	184	82.67	

Dr. **LEFKOWITZ.** This finding effectively supports the committee's contention that TV violence is only influential on those children who are predisposed to be aggressive.

None of the data presented up to this point suggests that another variable, such as IQ, social class, parental punishments or parental aggression, might have stimulated both the child's preference for violent television, and his aggressiveness.

However, one can test some of these hypotheses by computing the partial correlations between television violence and aggression which such variables controlled.

Senator **PASTORE.** May I ask a question at this point, Doctor? You say that you have a span between three years of age, and 18 or 19.

Dr. **LEFKOWITZ.** Between age 8 approximately and age 19.

Senator **Pastore**. Was this research of yours implemented by previous research? After all, when we are talking about an 18 or 19-year old, and this whole project is only two or three years old—will you explain that to me? Had you previously done research, or is this correlated with somebody else's research?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. No, the three of us here began the project, I should say two, the two gentlemen on my right began the project in 1955.

Senator **Pastore**. But not connected with this?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. Oh, yes, definitely connected.

Senator **Pastore**. No, I mean this study came into being only after I wrote the letter to the Secretary of HEW.

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. We originally were funded in 1959 by the National Institute——

Senator **Pastore**. Oh, by the National Institute of Health, I see. In other words, you were engaged in this research right along?

Dr. **Lefkowitz** Yes. This is a follow-up of 10 years on the original study.

Senator **Pastore**. I see. I wanted that clear on the record so no one would have a question about it. This is an experience that you had with the individuals that you talk about, the 427 you talk about, all during this period of time?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. These are the same individuals?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. All right, sir. That clears it up for me, and I hope so for the record.

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. It was found that neither the child's agression in the third grade, social class, mobility orientation of a parent, IQ, parental punishment, parental aspirations for child, nor parental aggression accounts for the relationship. Nor can the relation be explained by the total number of hours of TV watched by the subject in either the third or the 13th grades.

The above results indicate that TV habits established by age 8 to 9 years influence boys' aggressive behavior at that time, and at least through late adolescence. The more violent are the programs preferred by boys in the third grade, the more aggressive is their behavior both at that time and 10 years later. This relation between early TV habits and later aggression prevails both for peer-rated aggression and self-ratings of aggression. Actually, these early TV habits seem to be more influential than current viewing patterns, since a preference for violent television in the 13th grade is not related to current aggressive behavior.

Our criticism of the committee's presentation and interpretation of our data pertains to the tone, style, and substance of the report, that is the Surgeon General's report.

Our opinion of the report is that it is misleading, watered down, and contains inaccuracies.

Generally, statements about data concerned with the causal effect on aggression of television violence are overqualified, whereas statements supporting the point of view that television violence and aggression are related to a third variable are presented in a straightforward manner, without qualification.

For example, on page 75 of the report, are the following statements:

> Under certain circumstances television violence can instigate an increase in aggressive acts. The accumulated evidence, however, does not warrant the conclusion that televised violence has a uniformly adverse effect on the majority of children. It cannot even be said that the majority of the children in the various studies we have reviewed showed an increase in aggressive behavior in response to the violent fare to which they were exposed. The evidence does indicate that televised violence may lead to increased aggressive behavior in certain subgroups of children, who might constitute a small portion or a substantial portion of the total population of young television viewers.

In the foregoing quotation, seven qualifying words or phrases were used. But on the same page, 75, a statement implicating a third variable is as follows:

> There is evidence that among young children, ages four to six, those most responsive to television violence are those who are highly aggressive to start with—who are prone to engage in spontaneous aggressive actions against their playmates and, in the case of boys who display pleasure in viewing violence being inflicted on others.

They say there is evidence, not there seems to be evidence or there may be evidence, that among young children, not among some young children, or among specific sexes, and that is what I meant about the over and under qualification.

Another example of over qualification is given on page 94 of the report:

> The correlation coefficient between the index based on mother's report of program preference when the child was about eight years old and the peer rating of past aggressive behavior when the boy was about 18 years old depends almost entirely on a small number of boys at the extreme high end of the preference scale who scored extremely high on the peer-rated measure of aggressive behavior, a measure with virtually no upper limit. Without question, these boys would justify individual case study, but there appears to be hardly any relationship elsewhere in the range.

This statement of our findings is so overqualified that its meaning becomes vague if not lost. Moreover, it is incorrect.

There is a very definite upper limit to the measure of aggression, namely, one. The committee fails to cite in their report the analysis of variance of these data, see table 1, which shows that mean scores of aggressive behavior at age 19 increase significantly from low through medium to high as preference for violent television increases along the same dimension.

The committee claims that the relationship between television violence and later aggressive behavior "depends almost entirely on a small number of boys." The question is how small is small?

In this case, approximately 24 percent of the sample is affected by watching television. Considering the phenomenon under study and placed within the context of social responsibility, what does small mean when approximately one out of every four boys in influenced to behave aggressively by early viewing of violent television.

If cigarette smoking were to cause lung cancer in 20 to 25 percent of the population, would that number be termed small?

Recently I received a communication from Dr. de Sola Pool concerning the analyses of our data. Since that letter was received by Senator Pastore——

Senator Pastore. We have inserted it in the record.

Dr. Lefkowitz. Right. I would like to make a brief response to it at this time.

Senator Pastore. All right, sir.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. I intend to make a longer response to Dr. de Sola Pool upon my return.[5] We have had a chance to do some more data analysis—essentially Dr. Pool makes three points. He says our main argument about the analysis of variance I just cited is unsupported because we have included 22 cases in the middle group, and that this spuriously raises the mean of the middle group, and in effect creates a pattern where that pattern does not exist.

And that furthermore he claims that the relationship then holds for only, as he says, a few number of boys at the extreme end of the aggression scale. Now since I received his letter, we did another analysis of the data going along with him, removing those 22 cases from the middle and putting them at the high end where he suggested. Even if Dr. Pool were correct, that still gives 20 percent of the sample, that still makes 20 percent of the sample aggressive as a result of watching violent television.

So that, in my estimation, is hardly a few at the extreme end of the scale.

Looking at that table, you can see that irrespective of the level of aggression in the third grade, when television viewing is high, the aggression scores at age 19 remain high.

Furthermore, there is a very definite overall pattern to these mean scores, with a highly significant statistical test, indicating that a pattern of this kind could result by chance only five times out of 1,000. So that on the three points that Dr. de Sola Pool made in his letter, I respectfully submit that they, in my opinion, do not substantiate his argument.

Senator PASTORE. The remarkable thing about that, Doctor, is this: That the Surgeon General made a very strong assertion which impressed me very much, and I would like to read it to you, because I don't think you were here at that time.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ? Yesterday? No, sir.

Senator PASTORE. "While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action. The data on social phenomena, such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior, will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come."

Now I asked Dr. Pool categorically if he agreed with the Surgeon General, and he said yes. I quite agree with you that the report itself is couched in language that is rather cautious. Frankly I am only a layman, I thought at some times it was self-contradictory; that was the first impression I got.

But when I listened to these people, you see, yesterday, and heard from each of the members of the Advisory Committee—as a matter of fact, Dr. Klapper, a scientist who is employed by CBS, and Dr. Coffin from NBC were on this panel when I asked them categorically if they thought something should be done, they said yes.

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[5] The longer response referrde to appears at pp. 93–94, as part of the exchange of correspondence between Dr. Pool and Dr. Lefkowitz.

Now as you read the report, I can almost understand why from some news media, one got one impression, the other got another. As a matter of fact, the first call I got from a reporter, the question he threw at me, he says, "Do you consider this a whitewash?" Well, you can imagine how that disturbed me after we spent more than $1 million to do it, you see.

And then I went back to the report. I hadn't read it completely at the time, and I was able to say I had to study it first before I could answer that question. But when the committee came here yesterday, I repeat again, they seem to have clarified the air somewhat. And whether or not they would go as far as you have gone, I don't know. I am not in a position to know that.

But the reason I am saying this to you is because you brought up the name of Dr. Pool, and he is one of those I asked yesterday. He admitted there was a causal relationship; he admitted that it is something that needs attending to; and that it ought to be done as soon as we possibly can do it.

So, frankly, the point I am making here is that as I listened to those who felt the report didn't go far enough—I am speaking now of the scientists who were involved and those who felt what the report did say was the best way a consensus could be reached. I find the space between them is not really a chasm. They seem to be getting closer and closer together.

I thought I should make that observation to you.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Yes, sir. I am in the unfortunate position of having the gap closed in on me, so to speak, while I was away. From the time I wrote until yesterday, it was the general opinion, particularly if one looked at the news media, that there was a lot of hedging on the report and it was hardly as unanimous as now seems to be the case. So, in effect, this has happened overnight to me.

Senator PASTORE. Well, I think I can say this categorically. I have been listening to this testimony—of course, I am confined to the scientists who come before us.

But if I were to state an opinion from the testimony that I have heard so far from the scientists who have actually either worked on the actual research or written the advisory committee's report—I must say that I am convinced that there is a connection between the violence that is shown on television and aggressive behavior, especially in young children.

I think that that has been more or less the consensus. I don't know of any scientists who came before this Committee and disavowed that.

The question, as I look at it now, is where do you go from here. If you say this is not the case, then prove it is not the case.

You may proceed.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Thank you.

The omission of the analysis of variance just mentioned is related to the larger issue of the inclusion and exclusion of data from our study on a seemingly arbitrary basis.

From the time we submitted our report in March of 1971, to about December of 1971, a period of approximately nine months, the committee asked many questions about the data. These questions were raised during telephone conversations and in writing. Whenever possible, we answered the questions either from our knowledge of the research findings or by performing more statistical analyses.

At one point, the committee even raised questions about the qualifications of our statistical consultant. Since we tried as best we could to respond to all questions raised by the committee, certain statements in the report can only be viewed as pejorative and as an attempt to derogate the findings.

For example, on page 80 of the report, the committee states, "The fathers' reports were apparently not used, but reason for this is not stated," there are indeed very good reasons, but the committee never asked.

Another example of such innuendo is presented on page 83 of the report as follows: "Lefkowitz, et al., report, without citing supporting data . . ." The committee could have had such supporting data had they only requested it.

With only 11 months to complete this study, including the report to the committee, we could hardly have included the voluminous body of data and the tables of thousands of correlation coefficients we had generated.

At one point, towards the end of requests made for more data by the committee, we were asked for the cross-lagged correlations between TV violence and aggression for subjects in the eighth grade. Although these data are of questionable validity and reliability, we complied with this request. In a letter dated November 2, 1971, to Dr. George A. Comstock, in which I describe the data being forwarded, I say:

> Because of the absence of support during the eighth grade phase of this study, data collection methods were used which were not in direct control of the investigators; moreover, the sampling was spotty and unsystematic. Consequently, the eighth grade data are of dubious quality and proper caution should be used in their interpretation. I am not sure how the committee plans to use these data, but I hope some of their questions are answered. If I can be of further help, please let me know.

The committee then reports the eighth grade data and uses them in an attempt to show inconsistencies in our measures. Nowhere in the report is it stated that these data are of highly dubious quality, or that they should be interpreted with caution.

Moreover, the committee gave us no opportunity to answer any of the questions they raise in the presentation of these eighth grade data on pages 93–95 of their report.

Another example of important data being omitted or ignored relates to the committee's observations on predisposition to aggression. The committee states "that any such causal relation operates only on some children, who are predisposed to be aggressive. . . ."

With respect to our data, the only information the committee could have had—as concerns predisposition to aggression—was just in the opposite direction. Specifically we showed that childhood aggressiveness was unrelated to preference for violent television 10 years later. If our subjects were predisposed to be aggressive, one would expect a significant positive relationship to have occurred between these two variables.

Furthermore, when aggressiveness is statistically controlled for the third grade subjects by partial correlation technique, the relationship between preference for television violence at age eight and aggressive behavior at age 19 still remains significant. These data, which argue against predisposition to aggression for the subjects in our study, are ignored by the committee.

It is small wonder, therefore, that even educated laymen such as newspaper reporters would misinterpret the Surgeon General's report, or excerpts from that report, as was done in a front page headline of the *New York Times* on January 11, 1972. This headline stated "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth.'

The same article published in the *Berkshire Eagle*, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, January 11, 1972, was headlined "It's Safe to Let Kiddies Watch TV Mayhem Study Finds."

Taken by itself, any one of these criticisms of the committee's report could be termed picayune, out of context, or nit-picking. When taken as a whole, however, it is our unmistakable impression that the report systematically includes and excludes certain kinds of data. It ignores other data completely and dilutes and over qualifies certain research results.

Moreover, the report contains inaccuracies. Whether or not these actions can be attributed to inadvertent bias, deliberate bias or for that matter, bias at all, is really immaterial.

The salient question is really the effect of the report on the behavior of parents and children as concerns the watching of violence on television. A report which had treated the data straightforwardly may have had a restraining influence on the television diet permitted to children by their parents.

When parents are led to believe that only children already predisposed towards aggression will be adversely affected by TV violence, the restraints on a violent television diet have, in effect, been lifted. How many parents are ready to believe that their children are predisposed towards aggression?

For the reasons we have stated, we do not believe that the committee's report accurately represents the research findings. Therefore, we would suggest that the body of data generated by the 23 principal investigators be re-evaluated. Such a re-evaluation should be done by a group whose credentials are unimpeachable. The group we suggest is the National Academy of Science.

A communication I received recently from the Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, illustrates the pressures exerted by certain committee members in shaping the Surgeon General's report which makes it imperative that a disinterested body review all of the research data.

I would like to quote a couple of paragraphs from this first draft of a report by Matilda B. Paisley, Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, March, 1972.

> The adolescent Aggressiveness and Television Subcommittee, chaired by Ira Cisin, wrote Chapter 7. Others on the group were Ithiel de Sola Pool, Joseph Klapper, Andrew S. Watson, Thomas E. Coffin. The first draft was written by George Comstock. At the first meeting of this group, only Klapper and Cisin were present to meet with Comstock. Pool and Watson were unable to attend. Klapper objected to almost everything in the 32-page draft. He objected to the style, the form, and the interpretation of findings. He brought in pages of specific objections. Cisin supported Klapper. Comstock agreed to rewrite the draft. He again followed the outline of Chaffee's paper, but added more documentation. This

version ran 65 pages. Cisin and Klapper were still unhappy with the draft and rewrote it. Cisin remodeled the first half. He took the third variable issue and in general downgraded the evidence. Instead of saying what results have been found in studies that included third variables, he implied that the third variables that had been investigated were only a drop in the bucket, which may be true in some ultimate irrelevant sense. But the Klapper and Cisin draft left much of the text the same. However, they recast the findings and conclusions. Pool helped to tone down the Klapper-Cisin draft, eliminating some of the overkill.

When an NIH staff assistant was asked why people were calling this the "Klapper draft" of the Surgeon General's report, she replied, "Well, let's put it this way. It would have been a very different report if Klapper hadn't been on the committee. Let me also say that certain people were more interested in seeing that the report was phrased in their way than anyone else's." This was verified by Comstock, who said that as much as 90 percent of the report revision was made at the insistence of Klapper.

Senator PASTORE. Tell me again, who said that?

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. This is in a report from Matilda B. Paisley, Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University. And she had been in communication—these statements are footnoted and documented as personal communications.

Senator PASTORE. Dr. Rubenstein, are you in the room?

Dr. RUBENSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. What do you have to say about this?

Dr. RUBENSTEIN. May I come up, sir?

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Dr. RUBENSTEIN. May I begin, Senator, by saying that Dr. Lefkowitz has done one of the most important pieces of research in the entire group of studies that we commissioned. As a personal aside, I might say that Dr. Lefkowitz is one of the people I tried to hire when I first began this whole project.

The problem with some of the points that Dr. Lefkowitz is making is precisely because his research was so critical a piece of the entire set of research projects we had. Without going into all of the technical details, it is the one study, in a longitudinal sense, for the very reasons you raised initially, it is a 10-year study, that permits us through statistical inference to establish some relationship to a causality. Most of the other studies involved convergence of data and it is the accumulation of findings that allows us to make certain kinds of inferences.

Dr. Lefkowitz's study, because of the availability of 10 years' worth of data and because the statistical procedure that he used, indeed allowed the committee to make the so-called causal inference.

I might say as an aside, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that the phrase "a causal relationship" has ever been used in the accumulation of studies of this kind. The committee did spend a great deal of time going over Dr. Lefkowitz's work, in fact, to use what is known as a cross-lag correlation, which was invented or produced by a psychologist, and we took the liberty of going to the man who originated that particular procedure to ask him whether his procedure had been correctly used in this particular study.

There were some qualifications, but by and large they were sufficient to allow the committee to decide the data were in fact the kind on which they could then finally say there was a causal relationship, even though they hedged it the way they did. It is because of that that I am afraid that a great deal of time and attention was paid to Dr. Lefkowitz's study.

The committee in this case, as in every other, was extremely careful to make sure that they could agree on a conclusion. And that is why the wording is as cautious as it was; that is why there is some unfortunate misunderstanding of the conclusions.

Senator Pastore. You do get the impression from what Dr. Lefkowitz just said that somehow, or at least this one meeting he mentioned, was dominated by a scientist who was appointed by one of the networks?

Dr. Rubenstein. I think at various occasions during the individual meetings of the committee members, one or another committee member dominated a meeting. I can tell you that Dr. Pinderhughes, at one or another time, dominated a meeting. On other occasions, Dr. Alberta Siegel was involved.

It is true that Dr. Klapper happens to be one of the people who probably has the most encyclopedic knowledge in this particular field. He, as I tried to say yesterday, made a very significant contribution to this report, as did all other 11 members of the committee.

At the time that this particular discussion occurred, it is true he raised a number of questions. Dr. Klapper is an extremely conscientious and scrupulous scientist. I think when you heard him say yesterday that he does feel now that the evidence is sufficient to warrant some action, I really feel that we then, as Mr. Robert Louis Sheehan said in an article in the Saturday Review, crossed the Rubicon. And I think it is terribly important that we had that kind of participation on the committee.

I think the television industry now realizes that there were people with scientific background on the committee who had an opportunity to participate from the very beginning in this entire endeavor, and I think it is extremely fortunate that we had these individuals on the committee.

Senator Pastore. You make a good point. That is the first time the word causality was used, or causal effect was used. But then, of course, he seems to indicate—and this is the impression I get—that once you adopted his words about causal connection, you tended to play it down and you got into predisposition and that sort of thing.

Dr. Rubenstein. I don't think this is the time or place to go into all of the technical details of how scientists examine data. I can tell you my own personal viewpoints and I suspect no one in this room has been closer to this study than I have from the very inception. I can tell you my own personal belief is this report is a cautious statement. You have already said that, as other people have. I honestly believe if another group of scientists, with as clear a diversity of background and experience as this group had, looked at all of these data, they would come out with a conclusion not significantly different from this particular group.

I honestly think you made the point earlier that in fact we now are at a point where everyone has agreed that the time for action has come. It is unfortunate that there have been some discussions about what I really think should have been privileged information and committee action. It is a time at which the committee does wrestle with some difficult problems. It would be very unfortunate if the committee, before the fact, knew there might well be divulged in some unusual and unfortunate way, the individual discussions at individual meetings. I honestly believe that this particular document, which is a draft, and which unfortunately was not shared with either the committee or with me——

Senator **Pastore**. And you have a tremendous amount of respect and admiration for the research work done by Dr. Lefkowitz?

Dr. **Rubenstein**. Yes, sir. And I would like to add that I have the same feeling with all of the research. There was an effort which I believe all of the researchers will agree was maintained to provide them complete scientific independence on the work they did. I don't think there is any researcher in any part of the program that would indicate that they were interferred with at any time in the production of their research. Their research was published exactly as they had written it, with the exception of some editorial changes and Dr. Lefkowitz knows he and I discussed those.

Senator **Pastore**. And you are convinced, like the Surgeon General, that we have enough data now to take action?

Dr. **Rubenstein**. I am, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. Without a re-review. It will only substantiate the facts we already know. Irrespective of how one or another individual feels, the fact still remains that you are convinced, as the Surgeon General is convinced, that there is a casual relationship between violence on television and social behavior on the part of children?

Dr. **Rubenstein**. I am, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. I think we ought to take it from there. Don't you agree, Dr. Lefkowitz?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Pastore**. Now you raised the point here that the National Academy of Science should study it. From what has been adduced at this meeting, I just wondered if we should get into another review or whether we ought to accept what has been said here, which is substantial enough, and use that as a predicate to get some action. You have told us enough; Dr. Berkowitz has told us enough; Dr. Liebert has told us enough; Dr. Rubenstein has told us enough; the Surgeon General has told us enough.

How many people have to tell us? They have all said the same thing. It is not a matter of proving anything any more; it is a matter of once it is proved, what do you do about it? Wouldn't you agree with that?

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. I——

Senator **Pastore**. It may please you to have somebody else say more than this Advisory Committee said, "Well, I think that guy Lefkowitz is a swell guy."

Dr. **Lefkowitz**. I felt it was encumbent upon me as a research scientist, sir, to make this recommendation to you and to your committee.

Senator **Pastore**. That is right. I am very happy that you did. As a matter of fact, you are a very welcome witness. I will hear from your associates, too, if they have anything else to say. But that is the reason I called Dr. Rubenstein. Having the respect for him I do, and knowing how much he has been involved in this and his dedication and devotion to this particular project. If there is one man who has stood out in this, together with the Surgeon General, it is Dr. Eli Rubenstein, no question about that.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. And I certainly would like to reinforce the statement about the complete freedom the investigators were permitted. It was really a wonderful atmosphere to work in.

But I have one footnote to all of this and that is I was trained to believe in my education that people who have vested interests in anything should not be in a position to evaluate the outcome of research which bears on a question.

Senator PASTORE. You couldn't be more right. As a matter of fact, I said that yesterday. It is most unfortunate that they did that. But they followed the policy that they did in cigarette smoking, they thought it would be helpful. I think they all recognize now that they made a mistake. I don't think it served the purpose, even, of the networks.

But I was refreshed yesterday when I asked the two members of the Advisory Committee who are employed by the networks, and they both agreed with the Surgeon General and made a strong statement. So it comes right out of the horse's mouth.

All right, Doctor. Thank you, Dr. Rubsenstein.

Dr. LEFKOWITZ. Television violence is only one of a large number of substances in our society which has noxious effects. Methods, with varying degrees of success, have been developed to control substances which have proven harmful. Generally, in our pluralistic society, censorship is becoming less and less respectable as a form of control.

In this particular case we are in unanimous agreement that Government censorship is undesirable. The television industry must police itself but will do so, we feel, only when the public exerts sufficient pressure. Rigorous consumer action would probably have a maximum effect. If parents do not permit their children to watch the objectionable programs which portray unnecessary violence and refuse to buy products advertised by such programs, the networks will quickly receive this message and develop programs which are more acceptable. But no consumer action will occur, we fear, as long as the public continues to be misinformed by misleading Government reports.

Other approaches which might effect a change in a child's television diet should be considered. One would be the presentation of spot announcements on television about the deleterious effects of violence viewing on a child's development. Another would be a systematic effort—probably by the U.S. Public Health Service—to educate parents about the deleterious effects on children of television violence.

All portrayal of violence should not be eliminated, since violence is indeed part of life. However, the violence portrayed on the television screen both during prime time and children's hours is usually far removed from what happens in real life.

TV violence is much more sanitary and clean cut. Both heroes and villians acquire material possessions, vent their frustrations, and mete out punishment by use of violence. But the real life consequences of violence are never portrayed: the guts and gore, the mangled bodies and dismembered limbs, and the long-term misery and suffering perpetrated on the victim of violence and his family.

Children, thus, eventually become satiated without becoming aware of the real and persistent consequences of violence. Their threshold for violent acts is raised and their sensitivity to cues of violence is diminished. That children retain their sensitivity to violence is essential. Less saturation and more measured doses of exposure both to TV violence and its real life consequences should work to maintain a sensitivity to cues of violence and to their repelling implications.

Further recommendations are to provide violence ratings of all TV programs and require that broad TV offerings, violent and nonviolet, be made available without regard to the profit earned by the TV station. Parents would be provided with methods for determining their child's aggressions level. These persons should be helped to understand, or assess, the supports, i.e., payoffs, for aggression in the child's natural environment. Behavior management should be treated as important as academic subject at all levels of compulsory school as are the required subjects.

The foregoing recommendations are immediately relevant to the child, his parent, and to television programing. Yet, there are broader actions that could and should be taken. It is clear that the TV industry has great power, both financial and educational. It seems that the interests of the citizenry are poorly protected by the regulatory agencies such as the Federal Communications Commission. The composition and/or the functions of the FCC should be modified to represent better the citizenry whose airways the TV stations borrow.

Another set of actions deals with seeking additional information. We need to have an annual social report which might answer the question, "Are we becoming a more violent society?" This annual report could explore how our society, or segments of it, responds to violence on the national and local level as well as on the international level. What are societies' values with respect to nonviolent solutions? Do we offer the potentially violent person a reward for nonviolence or for prosocial behavior?

The foregoing recommendations are both general and specific. We are aware that certain of these proposals, at this point in time may be idealistic. But if concerned citizens are serious in their attempt to stem the tide of violence which pervades our society nothing less than such a program and very likely much more are necessary. Inaccurate and misleading Government documents such as the Surgeon General's report, serve only to misinform the public and circumvent needed action.

Senatore **Pastore**. Thank you very much, Dr. Lefkowitz. Do your associates care to say anything?

Dr. **Eron**. Dr. Leonard Eron, University of Illinois. I would like to just emphasize that there is a difference between what has gone on here during these hearings and what appears in the Surgeon General's report. And I would like to emphasize some of the inaccuracies in that report.

There are a number of references to third variables, that is other conditions that would explain this what is implied artificial relationship between television viewing and later aggression. In my reading of whatever of the other reports that I have been able to since they have come out, and in my thorough knowledge of our own study, there is no other third variable that can account for these findings. And this includes such obvious things as the social class of the child's parents, the father's education, his occupation, how aggressive the father himself is, the kinds of things that go on in the home, the emotional climate of the home, if you will, how aggressive the child himself is in the third grade.

None of these factors alter the relationship between television viewing at age eight and aggressive behavior at age nineteen. I just wanted to emphasize that point.

Senator **Pastore**. Thank you for that statement, sir.

Yes, Doctor?

Dr. **Walder**. I am Dr. Leopold Walder of Greenbelt, Md., behavior service consultants.

You asked Dr. Lefkowitz at the beginning when he talked about his 10-year program of research, where did it come from? Dr. Eron is too modest to say that he initiated this research as the principal investigator these many years ago.

I think that one of the reasons why we were able to contribute the kinds of data that we did contribute is because we were able to get at least initial funding for a multivariable longitudinal study of child development.

Now, these kinds of studies are very rarely funded by NIMH or by the government in general, because the payoff is slow in coming. The administration that says we let out a grant today cannot show the results until perhaps many years later. And so for political reasons, for a lot of reasons, these are not often funded studies and we ourselves had difficulty in continuing the funding and one of the reasons why our eighth grade data are insufficient is because we did it on our own and these are rather expensive studies.

Senator **Pastore**. This committee's jurisdiction, of course, is confined strictly to television. Whether or not there are other contributing factors, that is not the question before us. The question before us is in spite of all of these factors, what does television do? And that is the question I am interested in.

And the idea that we can't take care of everything in one bite doesn't necessarily mean that we can't make a start. The point is that television is used in almost every home in America, and that the average child spends more time before TV than in the schoolroom. Since it is such an integral part of our living, if it has a harmful effect that can be cured, I say we all have a responsibility to do something about it. And that is how simple this all is.

Now we can use a lot of high-sounding words; we can use a lot of classy words, use a lot cautious words. But when you get right down to it, the meat of the nut is, does violence on television, especially if it is excessive, or violence for the sake of violence, does that have an adverse effect on the social behavior of young people and maybe adults as well? And if it does, and I think it has been more than proven here, if it does, then the next question is, what do we do about it?

First of all, there is a question of self-restraint. There are limitations on how far the Government may go. The Federal Communications Commission is restrained by the Communications Act of 1934, it cannot censor programing. It says so in the law. And even if the Communications Act did not prohibit the Commission, there is the First Amendment of the Constitution, and we would be inhibited by that.

When you come down to it, these are people who are licensed by the

U.S. Government. They have more or less a monopoly because there are only so many channels that can be given out. They also have a tremendous public responsibility, to entertain and to educate our people. And they can do this without being gory about it with a lot of excessive violence. Do you agree?

Dr. WALDER. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. Did you want to say something, sir?

Dr. HUESMAN. I would like to make two comments. I am Rowell Huesmann, from the Yale University.

First, I wanted to comment on the question of publicizing some of the results. I think the reason we suggested the National Academy of Science is the following: Although it has become apparent through these hearings that the committee is willing to agree that television violence is one significant cause of aggressive behavior, it was not apparent from the report that issued. At least as read by the layman. Now social scientists can remedy this problem themselves by publishing their results in other ways, and other social scientists can presumably make their own decisions.

What we are concerned about is the public. Hopefully the publicity these hearings receive will create enough publicity that the public will change its mind, to counteract some of the previous bad headlines and the bad press.

However, some other possibilities might be something like the following: NIMH could well publish brochures as they do on drugs on smoking, indicating that violence on TV is harmful to you. Some of the other proposals are having spot commercials that are on TV.

Senator PASTORE. Of course, if there is determination on the part of the industry to continue showing violence in spite of everything we have said here, then people ought to be informed in that respect. I am hoping we can do something about it without having to educate them. I say let's eliminate what needs to be eliminated. You can't eliminate all violence, as Dr. Lefkowitz pointed out, because violence is part of our life. But we are talking about excessive violence, violence that is unnecessary. There are some stories you cn't tell without a little violence. As a matter of fact, you could never perform Shakespeare if you didn't talk about violence, but it all depends on how you do it, how you portray it. You can shock people, or you can do it artfully so it doesn't impress in a bad way, and still tell the story.

I want to thank you gentlemen very much.

(Their statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF MONROE M. LEFKOWITZ, PH. D., NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE, ALBANY, N.Y., LEONARD D. ERON, PH. D., UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO CIRCLE, LEOPOLD O. WALDER, PH. D., BEHAVIOR RESEARCH CONSULTANTS, GREENBELT, MD., AND L. ROWELL HUESMANN, PH. D., YALE UNIVERSITY

TELEVISION VIOLENCE AS ONE OF THE CAUSES OF AGGRESSION: OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE SURGEON GENERAL'S SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Our presentation today to the Senate Committee on Commerce will consist of a brief statement of the salient aspects of our research: "Television Violence and Child Aggression: A Follow-up Study" (Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder and Huesmann, 1971). Subsequently, we will present a critique of the interpretation of our findings by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. Finally, we will present to the present Committee a recommendation concerning the Surgeon General's Report and some observations and suggestions pertaining to violence on television.

Longitudinal data were collected on 427 teenagers of an original group of 875 children who were participating in a study of third grade children in 1960 (Eron, 1963; Eron, Walder and Lefkowitz, 1971). The original 875 constituted the entire third grade population of a semirural county in New York's Hudson River Valley, while the 427 subjects were those who could be located and interviewed ten years later.

The information collected about these subjects in both time periods falls into two classes: (a) measures of aggression, and (b) potential predictors of aggression. During the third grade interviews four different data sources had been used: the subject, his peers, his mother, and his father. Ten years later, the data sources were the subject and his peers. For convenience this later time period will be designated as the 13th grade.

In the third grade, peer-rated aggression scores were obtained by asking each child to nominate any of his classmates on ten "guess who" items describing aggressive behavior; e.g., "Who pushes and shoves other children?" "Who takes other children's things without asking?" "Who starts a fight over nothing?" These aggression items were interspersed among a series of other peer nomination questions. The validity and reliability of the aggression measure have been discussed elsewhere (Walder, Abelson, Eron, Banta and Laulicht, 1961; Eron et al., 1971).

The peer rating instrument was revised slightly for the 13th grade study. Since the subjects were no longer in school, the procedure was administered individually in a face-to-face interview. The number of possible peers any subject could nominate was widened beyond his own third grade classroom to include his classmates through high school. Thus each subject was rated by a larger set of raters in the 13th grade which included many of the raters from the third grade.

In the third grade the children's preferences for violent television were obtained by asking each mother for her child's three favorite TV programs. All programs mentioned were then categorized as violent or nonviolent by two independent raters with 94% agreement in their ratings. Each subject received a score according to the number of violent TV programs he was reported by his mother as favoring.

In the ten year follow-up study, each subject *himself* was asked for his four current favorite TV programs. All programs were then categorized for presence or absence of violence by two independent raters who agreed on 81% of 125 programs mentioned by the subjects. The score for each subject was the sum of the violence ratings of the four programs mentioned.

The judgments of our raters were in close agreement with the results obtained by Greenberg and Gordon (1970), who did an extensive rating study in which they used as raters both established TV critics (approximately 45) and 300 subjects randomly selected from the Detroit telephone book. Of the 20 programs which Greenberg and Gordon indicated had the highest violence ratings, 19 were selected as violent by our raters. For the 427 cases in the ten year follow-up study, there was a correlation of .94 between the Greensberg-Gordon average ratings and our ratings.

The 427 subjects studied in both the third and 13th grades consisted of 211 males and 216 females whose modal age at the time of the 13th grade interview was 19 years. The sample was at the higher end of the average range in intelligence with a mean IQ of 109 and was somewhat middle class in social status. Preliminary analysis indicated that the measures of aggression distinguished the males from the females. Because of these findings the data for males and females were analyzed separately.

From Figure 1 one can see that there is a highly significant relation between boys' preferences for violent television programs in the third grade (TVVL3) and their peer-rated aggression in the 13th grade (AGG13). Similarly, there is a significant contemporaneous relation between the boys' TV preferences in the third grade and peer-rated aggression in the third grade (AGG3). While the correlation between third grade preferences and 13th grade peer-rated aggression "explains" only ten percent of the variance in aggression, ten percent is impressive when one considers the large number of variables affecting aggression and the ten year lag between measurement times. The extremely low likelihood of achieving such a correlation by chance is a good indicator of the strength of the relation between preference for violent TV at age eight years and peer-rated aggression at age 19.

When distributions are unusual, an analysis of variance may, more clearly than a correlation, reveal the relation between the two variables. Hence, the male subjects were categorized into low, medium, and high television violence groups, representing approximately the lowest 10%, the middle 80%, and the upper 10%, respectively (see Table 1). This analysis shows that the increase in these mean values of aggression is 59 percent as violence preference increases from low to medium and is 102 percent as violence preference increases from medium to high. Thus, ten years later, the group preferring a small amount of television violence at age 8 was significantly *less* aggressive than the group preferring a moderate amount of television violence. While the group preferring a large amount of television violence was significantly *more* aggressive than the moderate preference group. Rarely, if ever, does a scientific finding hold for every member of a population. In this case the finding holds for *both* the high and low ends of the preference scale amounting to at least 24 percent of the sample.

Having established that there exists a highly significant relation between a preference for violent television in the third grade and aggressive habits in the 13th grade, one can consider the alternative casual explanations for this phenomenon. Of course, one cannot demonstrate that a particular hypothesis is true. One can only reject untenable hypotheses and present evidence on the plausibility of the remaining hypotheses.

Consider the pattern of correlations diagramed in Figure 1; the correlations on the diagonals are called cross-lagged correlations. The cross-lagged correlation between a preference for violent television in the third grade and aggression in the 13th grade is highly significant. When coupled with the lack of a relation between third grade aggression and a preference for violent television in the 13th grade, this significant correlation supports the hypothesis that preference for violent television is a cause of aggressive behavior.

Several rival explanations have been offered for this pattern of cross-lagged correlations; however, each of these alternative explanations has been analyzed statistically and found to be less plausible than the above hypotheses. A consultant (Kenny, 1971) retained by the Committee to render a critique of our analysis, concluded that, "However, the data do suggest that watching violent television shows does cause later aggression" (p. 140).

On the basis of the cross-lagged correlations one concludes that the single most plausible causal hypothesis is that a preference for watching violent television in the third grade contributes to the development of aggressive habits. This does not mean that other variables are not of equal or greater importance in stimulating aggression, but only that a preference for TV violence and the viewing behavior that the preference indicates probably are independent and important causes of aggressive habits.

None of the data presented up to this point suggests that another variable such as IQ, social class, parental punishment, or parental aggression, might have stimulated both the child's preference for violent television and his aggressiveness. However, one can test some of these hypotheses by computing the partial correlations between television violence and aggression with such variables controlled. It was found that neither the child's aggression in the third grade, social class, mobility orientation of parent, IQ, parental punishment, parental aspirations for child, nor parental aggression accounts for the relationship. Nor can the relation be explained by the total number of hours of TV watched by the subject in either the third or 13th grades.

Several modern satistical techniques lend further credence to the observation that violent television is a cause of aggressive habits. A multiple regression analysis revealed that among all the third grade variables that were not direct measures of aggression, preference for violent television was the best predictor of 13th grade aggression and the greatest contributor to changes in 13th grade aggression. A path analysis provided even stronger evidence of the causal nature of the relationship between television violence and aggression (Neale, 1971).

The above results indicate that TV habits established by age eight to nine years influence boys' aggressive behaviors at that time and at least through late adolescence. The more violent are the programs preferred by boys in the third grade, the more aggressive is their behavior both at that time and ten years later. This relation between early TV habits and later aggression prevails both for peer-rated aggression and self-rating of aggression. Actually, these early TV habits seem to be more influential than current viewing patterns since a preference for violent television in the 13th grade is not at all related to concurrent aggressive behavior.

Our criticism of the Committee's presentation and interpretation of our data pertains to the tone, style, and substance of the report (1972). Our opinion of the report is that it is misleading, watered down and contains inaccuracies. Generally, statements about data concerned with the causal effect on aggression of television violence are over qualified whereas statements supporting the point of view that television violence and aggression are related to a third variable are presented in a straightforward manner without qualificaiton.

For example, on page 75 of the report are the following statements:

". . . *under certain circumstances* television violence *can* instigate an increase in aggressive acts. The accumulated evidence, however, does not warrant the conclusion that televised violence has a *uniformly adverse effect* on the majority of children. It cannot *even* be said that the majority of the children in the various studies we have reviewed showed an increase in aggressive behavior in response to the violent fare to which they were exposed. The evidence does indicate that televised violence *may* lead to increased aggressive behavior *in certain subgroups* of children, who *might* constitute a small portion or a substantial portion of the total population of young television viewers." (Italics mine).

In the foregoing quotation, seven qualifying words or phrases were used. But on the same page (75) a statement implicating a third variable is as follows:

"There is evidence that among young children (ages four to six) those most responsive to television violence are those who are highly aggressive to start with—who are prone to engage in spontaneous aggressive actions against their playmates and, in the case of boys who display pleasure in viewing violence being inflicted on others."

Not a qualifier in this statement. Another example of over qualification is given on page 94 of the report:

"The correlation coefficient between the index based on mother's report of program preference when the child was about 8 years old and the peer rating of past aggressive behavior when the boy was about 18 years old depends *almost entirely* on a *small* number of boys at the *extreme* high end of the preference scale who scored *extremely* high on the peer rated measure of aggressive behavior (a measure with *virtually* no upper limit). Without question, these boys would justify individual case study, but there *appears* to be *hardly* any relationship elsewhere in the range." (Italics mine).

This statement of our findings is so over qualified that its meaning becomes vague if not lost. Moreover, it is incorrect! There is a very definite upper limit to the measure of aggression, namely, one. The Committee fails to cite in their report the analysis of variance of these data (see Table 1) which shows that mean scores of aggressive behavior at age 19 increase significantly from low through medium to high as preference for violent television increases along the same dimension. The Committee claims that the relationship between television violence and later aggressive behavior "depends almost entirely on a small number of boys."

The question is how small is small? In this case approximately 24 percent of the sample is affected by watching television. Considering the phenomenon under study and placed within the context of social responsibility what does small mean when approximately 1 out of every 4 boys is influenced to behave aggressively by early viewing of violent television. If cigarette smoking were to cause lung cancer in 20 to 25 percent of the population would that number be termed small?

The omission of the anlysis of variance just mentioned is related to the larger issue of the inclusion and exclusion of data from our study on a seemingly arbitrary basis. From the time we submitted our report in March of 1971 to about December of 1971, a period of approximately 9 months, the Committee asked many questions about the data. These questions were raised during telephone conversations and in writing. Whenever possible we answered the questions either from our knowledge of the research findings or by performing more statistical analyses. At one point the Committee even raised questions about the qualifications of our statistical consultant. Since we tried as best we could to respond to all questions raised by the Committee, certain statements in the report can only be viewed as pejorative and as an attempt to derogate the findings.

For example on page 80 of the report the Committe states "the father's reports were apparently not used but reason for this is not stated" there are indeed very good reasons but the Committee never asked. Another example of such innuendo is presented on page 83 of the report as follows: "Lefkowitz et al. report, without citing supporting data, ..." the Committee could have had such supporting data had they only requested it. With only 11 months to complete this study including the report to the Committee, we could hardly have included the voluminous body of data and the tables of thousands of correlation coefficients we had generated.

At one point towards the end of requests made for more data by the Committee, we were asked for the cross-lagged correlations between TV violence and aggression for subjects in the eighth grade. Although these data are of questionable validity and reliability we complied with this request. In a letter dated November 2, 1971 to Dr. George A. Comstock in which I describe the data being forwarded I say,

"Because of the absence of support during the eighth grade phase of this study, data collection methods were used which were not in direct control of the investigators; moreover, the sampling was spotty and unsystematic. Consequently, the eighth grade data are of dubious quality and proper caution should be used in their interpretation. I am not sure how the Committee plans to use these data but I hope some of their questions are answered. If I can be of further help please let me know."

The Committee then reports the eighth grade data and uses them in an attempt to show inconsistencies in our measures. Nowhere in the report is it stated that these data are of highly dubious quality, or that they should be interpreted with caution. Moreover, the Committee gave us no opportunity to answer any of the questions they raise in the presentation of their eighth grade data on pages 93–95 of their report.

Another example of important data being omitted or ignored relates to the Committee's observations on redisposition to aggression. The Committee states "that any such casual relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive); . . ." With respect to our data the only information the Committee could have had—as concerns predisposition to aggression—was just in the opposite directon. Specifically we showed that childhood aggressiveness was unrelated to preference for violent television ten years later. If our subjects were predisposed to be aggressive, one would expect a significant positive relationship to have occurred between these two variables. Furthermore, when aggressiveness is statistically controlled for the third grade subjects by partial correlation technique, the relationship between preference for television violence at age 8 and aggressive behavior at age 19 still remains significant. These data, which argue against predisposition to aggression for the subjects in our study, are ignored by the Committee.

It is small wonder, therefore, that even educated laymen such as newspaper reporters would misinterpret the Surgeon General's Report, or excerpts from that report, as was done in a front page headline of the *New York Times* on January 11, 1972. This headline stated "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth." The same article published in the *Berkshire Eagle*, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, January 11, 1972 was headlined "It's Safe to Let Kiddies Watch TV Mayhem Study Finds."

Taken by itself any one of these criticisms of the Committee's report could be termed picayune, out of context or nit-picking. When taken as a whole, however, it is our unmistakable impression that the report systematically includes and excludes certain kinds of data. It ignores other data completely and dilutes and over qualifies certain research results. Moreover, the report contains inaccuracies. Whether or not these actions can be attributed to inadvertent bias, deliberate bias or for that matter bias at all is really immaterial. The salient question is really the effect of the report on the behavior of parents and children as concerns the watching of violence on television. A report which had treated the data straightforwardly may have had a restraining influence on the television diet permitted to children by their parents. When parents are led to believe that only children already predisposed towards aggression will be adversely affected by TV violence, the restraints on a violent television diet have, in effect, been lifted. How many parents are ready to believe that their children are predisposed towards aggression?

For the reasons we have stated we do not believe that the Committees' Report accurately represents the research findings. Therefore, we would suggest that the body of data generated by the 23 principal investigators be reevaluated. Such a reevaluation should be done by a group whose credentials are unimpeachable. The group we suggest is the National Academy of Sicence.

Television violence is only one of a large number of substances in our society which has noxious effects. Methods, with varying degrees of success, have been developed to control substances which have proven harmful. Generally, in our pluralistic society, censorship is becoming less and less respectable as a form of control. In this particular case we are in unanimous agreement that Government censorship is undesirable. The television industry must police itself but will do so, we feel, only when the public exerts sufficient pressure. Rigorous consumer action would probably have a maximum effect. If parents do not permit their children to watch the objectionable programs which portray unnecessary violence and refuse to buy products advertised by such programs, the networks will quickly receive this message and develop programs which are more acceptable. But no consumer action will occur, we fear, as long as the public continues to be misinformed by misleading Government reports.

Other approaches which might effect a change in a child's television diet should be considered. One would be the presentation of spot announcements on television about the deleterious effects of violence viewing on a child's development. Another would be a systematic effort—probably by the U.S. Public Health Service—to educate parents about the deleterious effects on children of television violence.

All portrayal of violence should not be eliminated, since violence is indeed part of life. However the violence portrayed on the television screen both during prime time and childrens' hours is usually far removed from what happens in real life. TV violence is much more sanitary and clean cut. Both heroes and villains acquire material possessions, vent their frustrations, and mete out punishment by use of violence. But the real life consequences of violence are never portrayed: the guts and gore, the mangled bodies and dismembered limbs, and the long term misery and suffering perpetrated on the victim of violence and his family. Children, thus, eventually become satiated without becoming aware of the real and persistent consequences of violence. Their threshold for violent acts is raised and their sensitivity to cues of violence is diminished. That children retain their sensitivity to violence is essential. Less saturation and more measured doses of exposure both to TV violence and its real life consequences should work to maintain a sensitivity to cues of violence and to their repelling implications.

Further recommendations are to provide violence ratings of all TV programs and require that broad TV offerings, violent and nonviolent, be made available without regard to the profit earned by the TV station. Parents should be provided with methods for determining their child's aggression level. These persons should be helped to understand, or assess, the supports, i.e., payoffs, for aggression in the child's natural environment. Behavior management should be treated as important an academic subject at all levels of compulsory school as are the required subjects.

The foregoing recommendations are immediately relevant to the child, his parent, and to television programming. Yet, there are broader actions that could and should be taken. It is clear that the TV industry has great power, both financial and educational. It seems that the interests of the citizenry are poorly protected by the regulatory agencies such as the Federal Communications Commission. The composition and/or the functions of the FCC should be modified to represent better the citizenry whose airways the TV stations borrow.

Another set of actions deals with seeking additional information. We need to have an annual social report which might answer the question "Are we becoming a more violent society?" This annual report could explore how our society, or segments of it, responds to violence on the national and local level as well as on the international level. What are societies' values with respect to nonviolent solutions? Do we offer the potentially violent person a reward for nonviolence or for prosocial behavior?

The foregoing recommendations are both general and specific. We are aware that certain of these proposals, at this point in time may be idealistic. But if concerned citizens are serious in their attempt to stem the tide of violence which pervades our society nothing less than such a program and very likely much more are necessary. Inaccurate and misleading Government documents such as the Surgeon General's Report, serve only to misinform the public and circumvent needed action.

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Senator PASTORE. Is there anyone else in the scientific community who wants to be heard?

(No response.)

Senator PASTORE. The Chair hears none.

I want to insert in the record at this time a letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Miles W. Kirkpatrick, and a letter and a report prepared by Douglass Cater and Stephen Strickland on the Surgeon General's report on television and social behavior: The Impact of Television Violence. Also a telegram received from Evelyn Omwake.

(The documents follow:)

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., March 20, 1972.

Hon. JOHN PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: During my testimony before the Senate Committee on Commerce, September 28, 1971, I assured you that I would let you know if the Federal Trade Commission had any comments to make after publication of the report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

Your staff has kindly provided me with a copy of the Report of the Impact of Television Violence and the five volumes of technical studies underlying the report itself. I have had an opportunity to take a look at these volumes, though not to study them in detail. While no one can be unconcerned about the impact of televised violence on the nation's children, this topic does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission, which has no authority to regulate program content. For that reason, I believe the Federal Trade Commission should defer to those agencies which are more directly concerned with this issue.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

MILES W. KIRKPATRICK,
Chairman.

[Telegram]

QUAKER HILL, CONN., *March 20, 1972.*

HONORABLE SENATOR: Injuries sustained in weekend car accident prevent attendance at hearing of TV advisory committee report on Tuesday, March 23 a.m. Sending statement by wire which I request all be placed into the record.

Strongly urge that committee report be considered with great seriousness. Finding indicating that viewing violence on television can make aggressive children act even more aggressively indicate that the large number of children reported by teachers and others to be unhealthfully aggressive are a threat to themselves and their peers either through overtly physically aggressive acts or through threats of same. Whether or not it is the violence on TV which causes them to behave aggresively is irrelevant. The issue is that viewing violence on the screen can have the effect of letting children believe but the very fact of having it shown to them as overt physical actions either in defense or offense is sanctioned by society and a commonly plotemy mode of dealing with conflict or intervention of ones act. This can occur through the frequency of violence scenes in television shows in general and through the wide variety of episodes in which violent behavior is shown as the natural solution to impersonal problems.

Our committee has produced scientific data which shows that violent scenes on TV have an impact on the behavior of aggressive children thus the committee report establishes the potential influence of the contents of television showing for precipitating aggressive behavior in children. Timing and duration of aggressive impulses are not a significant problem. The important concern is that it can happen. Therefore it should become of nationwide concern of all adults in whatever capacity in their responsibility for the safety and welfare of people of all ages that all the media including television examine the nature of their communications to the public and provide some measure of guarantee that children will be exposed predominantly to scenes in which the behavior leads to constructive social interaction parents, teachers, government officials, and the broadcasting industries accept control of a variety of other childrens television viewing experiences. The educational potential of television is unchallenged. Our committees findings show that children high in aggression can learn from television how to be effectively and dangerously successful in the use of fist, feet, knives, clubs and guns when they are angry or afraid in the presence of another person regardless of that persons role or intent. A project studying the incidents of aggression beyond the norm in children under 16 might produce results which would shatter our national complacency about the harmlessness of violent behavior shown on television. Control of viewing by parents is only one approach to the problem and not a dependable one anyway.

A further comment is that children under 6 are especially vulnerable to visual stimuli and our report shows that they are heavy viewers. The amount of time and money provided for our committee effort was insufficient to give full attention to the study of the many ways in which this young age group can be deleteriously effected by media contents. Finally my experiences with reactions to the committee report since it has been made public suggest that its essence was ignored and the significance of the major findings has been distorted in many quarters. I urge an organized attack on the problem of improving the quality of television content both for its educational and its entertainment functions. Children do not discriminate between what is meant as entertainment and what is meant as education. I regret that I cannot be present to speak in person to urge that our report lead to action on behalf of children.

EVELINE OMWAKE,
Member, Surgeon General's TV Advisory Committee.

ASPEN INSTITUTE FOR HUMANISTIC STUDIES,
PROGRAM ON COMMUNICATIONS AND SOCIETY,
Palo Alto, Calif., March 13, 1972.

Hon. JOHN PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: On February 18–20 the Aspen Program on Communications and Society sponsored a conference to take a close look at the Surgeon General's report on *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence.* Participants in the Conference included leading Social Scientists as well as members of the Surgeon General's committee.

Stephen Strickland and I have prepared the attached statement which represents a critical appraisal of the work of the Surgeon General's Committee. We request that it be included in the records of your Hearing and we congratulate you on your continuing effort in this vital area of communications.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS CATER,
Director.

Enclosure.

COMMUNICATIONS AND SOCIETY

March 1972

A First Hard Look at the Surgeon General's Report on Television and Violence

by

Douglass Cater and Stephen Strickland

In the early spring of 1969, Senator John Pastore sent a letter to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare declaring that he was "exceedingly troubled by the lack of any definitive information which would help resolve the question of whether there is a causal connection between televised crime and violence and anti-social behavior by individuals, especially children." The Senator, who is a major Congressional figure in matters of communications policy, requested that the Surgeon General appoint a committee of distinguished men and women "from whatever professions and disciplines deemed appropriate" to conduct a study which "will establish scientifically insofar as possible what harmful effects, if any, (television) programs have on children."

Pastore felt that the Surgeon General should be given this assignment "because of the outstanding contribution made by his Committee through its report on Smoking and Health." He expressed hope of a report within a year's time.

The Senator's letter triggered an inquiry lasting nearly three years, budgeted at more than one and one-half million dollars. When the Surgeon General finally issued his Scientific Advisory Committee's Report, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* in January 1972, it was undergirded by twenty-three independent research projects which produced more than forty technical papers (to be published separately in five volumes).

Long before the Report was issued, it was apparent that it would receive critical review from at least three constituencies. Among the social scientist community, scepticism was stirred when Surgeon General William Stewart, claiming the precedent of the Smoking Committee, appointed several employees and consultants of the networks to his television committee and allowed the industry to veto seven distinguished social scientists who had been doing research in this area. Second, the broadcast industry was known to be highly suspicious that television was being made the scapegoat for society's ills. And, finally, the politicians were likely to be contemptuous of an inconclusive report for which so much time and money had been expended. (". . . I would hope the Surgeon General in due time will come before this Committee, not with a lot of ifs and buts, but will tell us in simple language whether or not broadcasters ought to be put on notice and be very, very careful in this area, because it might have an effect on certain people," Pastore declared last September.)

Joint Program of Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and Academy for Educational Development

All these suspicions flared anew when a leaked summary of the Report in early January led to the erroneous headline in the *New York Times*, "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth". The Report's decidedly cautious and often abstruse language provoked the charge of "whitewash" from one member of Congress and complaints from several social scientists who felt their research findings had been neglected or diluted by the Surgeon General's Committee. The possibility arose that this major enterprise might be undermined by a crisis of credibility.

As a result of the controversy and in anticipation of Senate hearings scheduled in late March, the newly established Aspen Program on Communications and Society convened a small gathering at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto to review the Surgeon General's Report. In attendance for the weekend meeting were the Surgeon General, along with the Vice-Chairman and two members of the Advisory Committee. Social scientists present included two who had been on the television networks' veto list. Also in attendance were the staff director of Senator Pastore's Committee and three foundation heads concerned with social science research. (Participants are listed at the end of this paper.) A flu virus prevented the scheduled participation of Frank Stanton, a broadcast executive who was himself a social scientist earlier in his career.

No attempt was made to reach consensus at the Palo Alto meeting. Rather it was intended to provide a searching review of the Surgeon General's Report and to consider consequences for the future. While disagreements were voiced, the meeting revealed substantial agreement on five conclusions:

1. Credibility of the Surgeon General's Committee was severely impaired by permitting unilateral industry veto over its membership. Future scientific investigations sponsored by the government should heed this lesson.

2. The Committee's Report reflects both scientific caution and the added restraint imposed by the effort to secure unanimity among its twelve members. Its language suffers from group draftsmanship as well as last minute haste in preparing the final summations. Nevertheless, the Report does gain added strength from the Committee's unanimity. Surgeon General Jesse Steinfeld, who succeeded to the office after the Committee was set up, has reason to maintain that this was not a "whitewash" and that "for the first time causality between violence viewing on television and subsequent aggression has been identified."

3. The Report, together with the supporting research, provides abundant reason for renewed public concern about the environment of television in which our children grow up. The child spends more time before the TV set than in any other pursuit except sleeping. Television outdistances school as the occupation of his waking hours. It would be disastrous for society to disregard an influence so pervasive.

4. Public policy needs to be better informed about the effects of televised violence. We also need to ask larger questions about the potential of the medium. Social science should be supported to carry on further research but the broadcast industry itself must devote greater resources to research and development. The burden should not lie with government or citizen groups to demonstrate television's effects for good or evil. The industry has a dominant responsibility.

5. Actions need not await final research. While governmental control of programming would be bad public policy, there is reason for pressure from Congress and governmental agencies to reinforce public concern. Even more important, there should be a cooperative effort to create an institution outside government capable of continuing attention to television's effects. As a beginning, it might develop techniques for monitoring the quantity and nature of televised violence in order to provide a trustworthy pollution index for the public airwaves.

The following, while not purporting to be a report of the Palo Alto conference, represents the best efforts of these two reporters to interpret this first hard look at the Surgeon General's Report.

Background

Twenty years ago the National Association of Educational Broadcasters reported that drama involving crime and horror made up 10 percent of programming time. Concern about the effects of such program content on human behavior led to hearings by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in 1954. The committee concluded that television violence was especially likely to be harmful to young viewers.

Television broadcast industry spokesmen acknowledged the large amount of televised violence and indicated that something would be done about it. But subsequent surveys revealed that television violence increased, rather than decreased between the early 1950's and the early 1960's. Parents' groups and others stepped up their efforts to organize public opinion and secure remedial action against the violent "messages" transmitted by an ever-growing presence.

In 1964, another round of Juvenile Delinquency hearings produced the conclusion that television violence was not only **not** being reduced, but was being extended by the syndication of some of the more violent shows to be subsequently reshown on independent networks and stations. The 1964 Senate Committee report warned that such television content produced anti-social behavior among juveniles and repeated the charge of "an informed critic" that television was becoming "a school for violence."

For fifteen years, public expression of concern about the harmful effects of televised violence and crime on the nation's children resulted in intermittent deliberations over the issue, in and out of Congress, but virtually no action by the industry or the government. For its part, the television industry seemed unimpressed by the "scientific evidence" purporting to prove adverse effects. Demands of a few angry parents were an insufficient indicator of consumer attitudes to prompt major changes. On the contrary, the activity of the marketplace suggested that television – and its program content – was satisfying both viewers and sponsors. Millions more Americans were watching, including children who watched adult programs with at least the tacit approval of parents.

The assassinations and riots of the middle sixties rekindled the concern to search out causes for the violence in our nation. President Johnson, in creating the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, charged it "to undertake a penetrating search. . . . into our national life, our past as well as our present, our traditions as well as our institutions, our culture, our customs and our laws" so as to be able to explain, and propose remedies for, any persistent forces at work in American society which were productive of violence. The Commission, chaired by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, set up a Task Force on the Media.

The Eisenhower Commission, originally given a year from June 1968 to complete its work by President Johnson, had its life extended by six months, to December 1969, by President Nixon. But troubling to those in Congress who had been awaiting a clear and thorough assessment of television violence were reports that the findings of its Task Force on the Media would not be made an integral part of the Commission's final report.

Ultimately, the Eisenhower Commission, while warning of the danger of making television a "scapegoat", did issue a strong statement: "We believe it is reasonable to conclude that a constant diet of violent behavior on television has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes. Violence on television encourages violent forms of behavior, and fosters moral and social values about violence in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilized society. . . . It is a matter for grave concern that at a time when the values and the influence of traditional institutions such as family, church, and school are in question, television is emphasizing violent, antisocial styles of life."

Meanwhile, early in 1969, the Senate Subcommittee on Communications, chaired by Senator John Pastore, decided that what was needed – to help resolve the issue of the impact of television on "the mind, attitudes, and actions of the child viewer" – was the focused attention of a scientific committee. Pastore noted that "many authorities in the fields of psychiatry and other disciplines" had taken positions on the issue while others contended that "the limited experiments that have been conducted produced no scientific proof for or against the proposition" of harmful results.

President Nixon endorsed Pastore's proposal and HEW Secretary Finch complied by directing the Surgeon General to constitute a committee of "experts" in behavioral sciences, mental health disciplines and communications to come up with the soundest answer to the question that scientific evidence would allow.

The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee

The Surgeon General at that time, Dr. William Stewart, cautioned the Senate that the establishment of clear indices on which to make policy decisions might be more difficult for behavioral scientists looking at television than for medical scientists looking at tobacco. The problem of scientific evidence, however, was not the first problem the new advisory committee faced. When the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health was appointed earlier in the sixties, the tobacco industry had been given opportunity to comment on those whose names were proposed for membership. The rationale was that if the Committee subsequently issued a negative report on cirgarette smoking (as in fact it did), there could be no charge that the deck was stacked. Following that procedure, Surgeon General Stewart submitted a list of forty nominees to the three major television networks and the National Association of Broadcasters for their review and comments. Frank Stanton, President of CBS, thought the nominees "distinguished" and declined to make any suggestions about who the Surgeon General's appointments to his own advisory committee ought to be. NBC, ABC and the National Association of Broadcasters did comment, raising objections to seven persons on the list. Surgeon General Stewart deferred to this industry veto. In addition, two of the Committee members he appointed were network employees, one a former employee and two others were serving as industry consultants.

This procedure resulted in charges of a reverse bias from that which the Surgeon General sought to avoid. No opportunity had been given professional associations to comment on the experts who were appointed to the Committee. When the members of the Advisory Committee learned about the industry's veto six months after their appointment, their consternation came close to producing resignations. It did produce continuing suspicion and bitterness on the part of some members of the group and others in the social science community. It lead to the Committee's flat declaration in its Report: "We do not agree that any group should have been allowed to cite individuals as unacceptable."

Organizational problems did not end with the matter of selection of Committee members. There were equally difficult problems in staffing up, relating both to the haste in getting the study underway and the fact that it was to be a short-term assignment for anyone who undertook it. Outstanding social scientists found it impossible to extricate themselves from on-going commitments on short notice. Unlike, for example, the legal profession, social science is not well organized to respond quickly to urgently expressed demands from the government.

The Research

None of the social scientists appointed to the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior believed that in the one year suggested by Pastore they could produce and evaluate a sufficient amount of hard data to answer definitively the question posed by the Senator: "whether there is a causal connection between televised crime and violence and anti-social behavior by individuals, especially children." A member of Pastore's staff later remarked: "We realized the time squeeze but we also knew that if we let them set the time limit, it would be too long in the first place and they would want an extension beyond that." When the Committee indicated it would take longer than a year to do the assignment, Pastore raised no objection. In fact, almost three years elapsed before the Report appeared.

Similarly, few persons well acquainted with the social sciences believe that, whatever time is allowed, a diverse group of behavioral scientists is likely to reach full agreement on interpreting research data. The matter of methodology is persistently a bone of contention. Professor Ithiel de Sola Pool points out that the methodological approach to the investigation of economic problems is so well established that economists are judged by their peers more on the basis of how perfectly they use the accepted tools than on the way they interpret the results. But behavioral scientists in the softer disciplines begin with disagreement on methodology, thus compounding the probability of disagreement about results. It was therefore no surprise that repeated disagreements occurred within the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on whether the research being supported could produce worthwhile data.

The Committee early faced the issue of laboratory research versus field surveys versus clinical studies. The members recognized the limitations of each approach. Laboratory experiments, measuring the immediate effects on children of selected television viewing in a necessarily artificial situation, can provide insight into cause–effect relations that exist under specified conditions, but they cannot provide conclusive evidence about what happens in the real world. On the other hand, surveys, while establishing relations between television viewing and aggressive actions, cannot prove causations. Clinical study, while examining a case in great depth, cannot be certain how representative it may be.

The Eisenhower Commission on Violence, because of time limits, did not commission major new research in this area, choosing to rely on the opinions of "the best minds in the communications media, particularly in television; in the academic community, particularly communications specialists; and in government agencies, notably the Federal Communications Commission." But it was no secret in Washington that the Commission had trouble interpreting the "best minds". In November 1969, the Commission issued – but significantly, did not endorse – a staff report on "Mass Media and Violence" which concluded that "there is sufficient evidence that mass media presentations especially portrayals of violence, have negative effects upon audiences," and recommended that "the burden of research and proof" be placed on the television industry to carry out research on "the psychological and sociological effects of mass media portrayals of violence." The staff report stated that the television industry had for the previous fifteen years failed to reduce the violence content of programs, despite repeated promises to do so, and had failed to carry out any appreciable amount of research on the issue.

Hoping to take the matter beyond the unendorsed recommendations of a commission staff into the realm of fresh, focused scientific evidence, the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee commissioned a great variety of new research. Both laboratory experiments and field surveys were included. Funding from the National Institute of Mental Health was not a problem and the Committee went well beyond the $1 million budget originally allocated. But finding good projects proved difficult. Members conceded that some of the research proved to be of poor quality or not relevant to the task of the Committee. Other areas that would appear ripe for research were neglected in the project proposals.

Neither the Advisory Committee nor its staff tried to prepare an overall research design. (Some doubt a design could have been imposed on the highly independent social science community.) Instead, it was decided not to "put all our eggs in one basket" but to seek "a series of individual studies that would provide a set of interrelated findings." A large part of the research effort was to trace relationships between televised violence and "aggressive" behavior in young people – a narrowing of Pastore's query about "antisocial" behavior. Only one research project probed into violence "content analysis" and this was confined to a single week's prime time programming in October 1969, updating earlier one-week analyses of 1967 and 1968 prepared for the Violence Commission. As a result, there is still lacking an index in depth of the trends and types of violence which come over the nation's airwaves.

The research projects made no effort to examine major episodes of antisocial behavior and trace the possibility of televised instigation. Nor did they go very far in examining the "context" in which violence is presented – real or imaginary, rewarded or punished. There is a great deal more to be explored in this forbidding territory.

But certain elemental facts do emerge clearly from the studies. Incidents of prime time and Saturday a.m. violence continue at the rate of eight an hour (over twice the British rate which itself is padded by American imports). Fatalities have declined somewhat but cartoon and comedy violence, especially in the Saturday morning "children's ghetto", has increased. Violence is typically sanitized – portrayed in a painless way that does not convey the real suffering of the victim and his family. One study indicates a tendency for violence to peak in four year cycles – apparently pushed by competition for Nielson ratings. A series of interviews with program producers provides fascinating insight into their motives. In their incessant quest for program material, there is a compulsion to supply enough "action" to keep the TV sets turned on. Violence, it would seem, serves as a punctuation point and way of bridging the pause for commercials.

The research findings fail to probe the saturation point of television among youth. What is the psychopathology of those one quarter of youngsters interviewed who reach the outer limits of five or more viewing hours per day? Here cause and effect may become intertwined but surely it provides a fertile field for study.

Despite the time frame and other limitations, the question arises whether a more selective and strongly coordinated research effort could not have covered more ground and tied up the loose ends that the committee warned, in its final report, were still dangling. But the five volumes of research findings still constitute an imposing body of evidence.

The Report

The Advisory Committee worked with growing zeal to reach unanimous agreement in evaluating and interpreting the research. It achieved this goal despite strong tendencies to split in several directions. This effort to reach consensus put severe limitations on the content and clarity of the Report.

There were other restraints at work. First, the Committee was constantly aware, and constantly reminded, that its role was to assess the scientific data available, and not to make policy recommendations. Secretary Finch had made that quite explicit in agreeing to the formation of the Committee. Policy implications might be found in its data assessments but the Committee sought to follow the clear contours of its assigned role.

Second, judgment was not to replace scientific assessment. The usual caution of scientists in interpreting their results was reinforced as those results were put through another "scientific" screening. The committee of social scientists evaluated and reported the research findings of other social scientists at least as conservatively as the original researchers reported the meaning and applicability of their own conclusions.

Still another factor appeared to some observers to be at work in the Committee's approach towards the writing of its report. Although members of the Committee deny that there was a "television industry" faction which consistently pressed its view in the deliberations, members with teaching responsibilities had less time to give to the effort than did those whose livelihoods came from industry research in this field, and less energy to devote to suggesting contextual "qualifications" for each research finding and to honing careful phrases. The function of available time and energy helped shape the language and tone of the Report.

The meaning of all this can be illustrated with one example: In an experimental study, cited approvingly by the Committee, a team of investigators looked closely at the daily behavior of 97 nursery school children over a period of nine weeks to measure the impact of different kinds of television program content. The children, divided into three groups, regularly viewed one of three series of short television or film episodes. One series emphasized "the Agressive Condition." A second series comprised "Neutral" programming. The third series featured "Prosocial" conditions with themes of sharing, cooperative behavior and self-discipline. The researchers flatly concluded: "Children who were initially high in aggression tendencies showed greater interpersonal aggression when they were exposed to the Aggressive condition than when they were exposed to the Neutral or Prosocial conditions."

The Advisory Committee, acknowledging the project to be significant, reported more cautiously: "Among children who were initially high in aggressive behavior, the differences in the changes that occurred is plausibly interpreted as indicating greater stimulation of aggressive behavior among those who viewed the violent diet than among those who viewed the neutral diet." The Committee then incorporated the apparent significance of the finding into one of the conclusions of the chapter by stating: "Televised violence may lead to increased aggressive behavior in certain subgroups of children, who might consitute a small portion or a substantial portion of the total population of young television viewers." In the overall summary of the Report, this conclusion was further refined: "We have noted in the studies at hand a modest association between viewing of violence and aggression among at least some children, and we have noted some data which are consonant with the interpretation that violence viewing produces the aggression. This evidence is not conclusive, however, and some of the data are also consonant with other interpretations."

Scientific caution and the quest for consensus are understandable restraints. Less understandable was the evidence of a final haste in putting the Report into print that resulted in a poorly written document with none of the encapsulating sentences or paragraphs that would provide clarity for the layman. The reader searches in vain for the kind of thoughtful summation which the prolonged deliberation should have produced.

But restraint accomplished the unanimity which had been the goal of the Committee. All twelve members signed the transmittal letter to the Surgeon General on January 19, 1972. All twelve endorsed the capstone conculsion, masterful in its caution: "Thus, the two sets of findings (experimental and survey) converge in three respects: a preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior; an indication that any such causal relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive); and an indication that it operates only in some environmental contexts. Such tentative and limited conclusions are not very satisfying. They represent substantially more knowledge than we had two years ago, but they leave many questions unanswered."

The Meaning

After nearly three years and the expenditure of over a million dollars, the Surgeon General released a Report that could have profound consequences for the public and for one of the country's major industries. But a week before the Committee members finally signed the transmittal letter, the *New York Times* scooped the rest of the press with a page one story. The Report's elaborate cautions were translated with stark oversimplification by the lead paragraph: "The office of the United States Surgeon General has found that violence in television programming does not have an adverse effect on the majority of the nation's youth but may influence small groups of youngsters predisposed by many factors to aggressive behavior." The article's headline was dead wrong: "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth."

The *Times* interpretation, though quickly clarified by the Surgeon General, was reprinted and widely distributed by the Television Information Service of the NAB. Meanwhile, Congressman Murphy of New York denounced the Report as a "whitewash" and "heavily loaded in the industry's favor." Several researchers issued public complaints. It looked as if the whole enterprise would be pulled apart in a war of press communiques. But Surgeon General Steinfeld, having reviewed all of the five volumes of research, patiently maintained that the Report was not a whitewash. "For the first time, causality between violence viewing on television and subsequent aggression has been identified." Senator Pastore let it be known that he considered the Report a "major breakthrough" and scheduled hearings in late March 1972 to invite testimony about future policy implications. The Surgeon General and his Advisory Committee members, network heads, critics and other interested parties would be asked "what steps each can and should take in the light of the Report's findings and conclusions?"

Several issues deserve exploration by the Senate Committee. The issue of television's effects on children is now twenty years old. Yet the obvious need for concentrated, long-range attention to the issue has been met in a limited, spasmodic way. Relatively few behavioral scientists have recognized the importance of the issue and have tried to gain a better understanding. The television industry has for the most part treated the subject cavalierly. Violence on television – even on programs aimed at children – continues apace. The industry has taken little direct action and has not invested significant funds in research into effects for good or harm.

In other areas identified as requiring scientific evidence – from cancer control to space exploration – the government has invested large sums in the training of persons who can help shape the hard evidence on which to base intelligent public policy decisions. The federal investment in training and research programs in mass communications studies has been extremely small.

Television's impact on society demands a significant and long-term federal investment. The social sciences must participate in finding answers to difficult problems, and share in the public policy decisions to be made in this field. The need is for sustained government support for a field of study that behavioral scientists themselves must define, and for the development of mechanisms capable of focusing on long-range and short-range needs.

Certain specific research needs must be addressed. There is much work to be done in determining the nature of the "third variables" at work which permits some children to view large amounts of television violence with no apparent harmful effects and inclines other children towards aggressive tendencies. Is television itself an important factor in "predisposing" certain children toward aggression? Professor Albert Bandura, of Stanford, who has done pioneering work on television and children, questions the assumption that the predisposition to aggression is simply an inherent "child quality." The size of the "predisposed to aggression" group of children has not been explored. Little is known about the effect of television on the very young whose "predispositions" are still being shaped.

Even less is known about the ways violence can be portrayed for positive effect and what, in Wilbur Schramm's words, could be "TV's moral equivalent of violence." There is scanty but concrete evidence that entertainment television can be constructive. The Surgeon General's Advisory Committee pointed to "the most striking finding" that young viewers of *Misterogers Neighborhood* from families of low socioeconomic status tended to become more cooperative, helpful and sharing in their daily relations with others. High socioeconomic children showed no such response. Why the difference and what it means for future programming remains to be explored.

What is the real potential of television? It not only offers but imposes on children vicarious experience in no way comparable to that of earlier generations. As Dr. Ralph Tyler, of the Social Science Research Council, commented: "In recent years we have become alert to the importance of studying our environment in terms of its functions and the balance among them. Television is an environment. How are its services being prepared? What range of opportunities are there for children? Any environment that represents for them so many hours a day deserves a research program with a broad perspective – not only in terms of ill effects but of the total need for vicarious experience in growing up. We must begin to think about television as though we were thinking about food or air or water."

Approaches to Public Policy

Throughout the long inquiry, researchers and Committee members felt misgivings about the policy implications of their work. They feel them anew now that Senator Pastore has served notice that he will seek testimony on this subject. No one wishes the federal government to become the director of television programming. Few are attracted by the notion that the behavioral scientists should prepare an overall design for the nation's communications system. Pluralism is a matter of faith with most social scientists.

The clearest policy implication of the Surgeon General's Report is that the Congress now has more than adequate justification for periodic review of what the television industry is doing in children's programming and in the larger area of violent content viewed by children. There is no requirement that a law be passed; indeed it would be impossible to formulate a clear and sensible statute on the basis of present evidence. The First Amendment to the Constitution should operate as a strong restraint in this area of lawmaking.

The real question is whether the television industry can be made more sensitive and self-conscious about its great responsibility. Given the evidence available, there is cause for concern, and good reason for demanding changes. At this stage of our experience with television, warns Dr. Percy Tannenbaum, of the University of California at Berkeley, "to do nothing is to do something."

According to surveys, many of those who produce, program and sponsor television programs – including programs specifically designed for young audiences – are utterly unaware of the social implications of those programs. Those who write programs for the television industry are ignorant of the evidence already available about the effects on children. The communication gap between most television experts and child development specialists is great. The burden should be on the industry to close that gap.

One specific proposal was put forward at the conference in Palo Alto by Lloyd N. Morrisett, President of the Markle Foundation, and Orville G. Brim, President of the Russell Sage Foundation. In Morrisett's words: "We are impressed by the need for techniques to monitor on a continuing basis the amount and quality of violence on television as a means of informing the public and allowing a more complete understanding of the problem. In suggesting an attack on this problem, we fully understand the complexity of the issue. It will be difficult to design sound measures of violence on television and the first ones will undoubtedly be imperfect and need to be improved over time. Despite this and other problems we believe the issue is important enough to warrant immediate action."

The problem demands shared responsibility. Since television for American society is an environmental system, its beneficial use is not an activity to be left exclusively to government, industry, or individual citizens. To realize the potential benefits and avoid the clear hazards television holds for our society, children need the help of parents. The television industry needs the advice of social scientists. And social science needs the support of government.

Perhaps the most succinct conclusion was voiced by Meredith Wilson, Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, who served as moderator of the Palo Alto meeting. Figuratively placing himself in the Surgeon General's shoes as a witness before Senator Pastore, he declared: "The Report is couched in cautious language because these are scientists who must be responsible to their discipline. It may appear to say less to you than it does to me. I believe the Report confirms the folk wisdom that there is a causal relation between violence on TV and the behavior of children in an anti-social way. I see this confirmation as being about as clear as a scientific group, given the time allowed them,could have given us. Not only does television incite violence in some who are predisposed to violence, but it is clear to me that violence on TV is a factor in determining this 'predisposition.' Under these circumstances, I am coming to you as a public agent, required to give my advice. In my judgment, violence is clearly dangerous enough to be called to the attention of Congress, the industry, and the public. It merits attention and it requires constructive action."

Conference on Report of Surgeon General's Committee on Television and Social Behavior

February 18–20, 1972

Palo Alto

Meredith Wilson, Moderator	Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
Albert Bandura	Professor of Psychology, Stanford
Orville G. Brim	President, Russell Sage Foundation
Lloyd Morrisett	President, Markle Foundation
Ithiel de Sola Pool	Professor of Political Science, MIT
Eli Rubinstein	Vice-Chairman, Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, Television and Social Behavior
Wilbur Schramm	Director, Institute for Communications Research, Stanford
James F. Short	Professor of Sociology, Washington State University. (Director of Violence Commission research)
Alberta Siegel	Professor of Psychology in Psychiatry, Stanford Medical Center
Jesse Steinfeld	U. S. Surgeon General
Harold Stevenson	Professor of Psychology, University of Michigan
Percy Tannenbaum	School of Public Policy, U.C. Berkeley
Ralph Tyler	Acting President, Social Science Research Council
Nicholas Zapple	U.S. Senate staff

Ex Officio:

Douglass Cater
Stephen Strickland

Senator PASTORE. I am afraid that we are in a little quandary as to tomorrow's hearings. I know there are a lot of people interested who might have to travel. The leadership told me that the Gravel Resolution would come up this afternoon, and it would be disposed of tonight. But then I heard there were five amendments to it, and there was a possibility it might go over until tomorrow. If it goes over until tomorrow, we could certainly hear witnesses at 10:00 o'clock.

But on the other hand, if the Gravel Resolution is resolved tonight, it means I would have to be on the floor to manage S. 3178 at 10:30 tomorrow morning and that would mean we would have to call off the hearing. So we will have to leave it this way.

If anybody is interested in knowing, please get in touch with Mr. Zapple at 5:30 this afternoon, and we will let you know whether the hearing will be tomorrow or not.

(Whereupon, at 4:08 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1972

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a.m. in room 5110, New Senate Office Building, Hon. John O. Pastore (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pastore, Cannon, Pearson, Baker, and Cook.

Senator PASTORE. The hour of 10 having been reached, we will now proceed.

Today the committee will hear the heads of the three networks, and also the spokesman for the National Association of Broadcasters.

I want to say, as an introductory remark, that in the past 2 days, I think we have reached the banks of the Rubicon. I hope with the testimony that is adduced here today, we will be able to cross it and achieve success.

Our first witness is Julian Goodman, president of NBC.

Mr. Goodman, we welcome you here and await with great anticipation your statement.

STATEMENT OF JULIAN GOODMAN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO.; ACCOMPANIED BY HERMINO TRAVIESAS, VICE PRESIDENT, DEPARTMENT OF BROADCAST STANDARDS

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Julian Goodman. I am president of the National Broadcasting Co.

NBC welcomes the opportunity to participate in these hearings, and to express our views on the subject before you. These hearings are, in a way, a culmination of many years of searching by this committee, by you, Senator Pastore, and by the broadcasting industry, for satisfactory answers to questions about the influence of television entertainment programs on human conduct.

With the report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, we now have more knowledge than we have had before about the relationship between the viewing of violence on television and subsequent behavior, particularly of children.

It is not my intent to discuss the technical aspects of the report to the Surgeon General. That is a task that is better left to research specialists in the field who are far more qualified than I am to do that.

I believe, however, it is proper to recognize that one of the main conclusions of the report states that the "accumulated evidence does not * * * warrant the conclusion that televised violence has a uniformly adverse effect nor the conclusion that it has an adverse effect on the majority of children."

The report goes on to say that televised violence may, however, stimulate aggressive behavior by some children, under some circumstances.

We accept that fact, and it places a responsibility on us. Although the extent of the causal relationship, the circumstances under which it operates, the number and kinds of children that may be affected are not yet understood, we recognize that pointing to these gaps in knowledge is not the proper way of fulfilling our responsibility.

We should seek to learn more about the subject and, at the same time, avoid programs that could have undesirable effects on children. That is what we have tried to do.

I want to emphasize that we have not waited for scientific evidence on the subject you are considering. We have acted on the supposition that certain kinds of violence in programing might be harmful and therefore should be avoided.

We recognize, as the Surgeon General's report points out, that children's behavior is affected by many kinds of influences and television may not be the most compelling of these. But that has not kept us from seeking to remove program elements that could contribute to antisocial behavior in children.

We have tried conscientiously to structure our children's programing so as to eliminate violence which could be harmful to children. We have also sought each season to introduce in our Saturday morning schedule programing that does not merely entertain, but will contribute to the child's education and development.

We should not underestimate the creative challenge posed by this objective. We can develop and schedule programs that we might regard as beneficial for children, but we cannot make them watch. A program, however well-intended, that has no audience is worthless.

So the task we face constantly is to fashion the program material and techniques that will attract and appeal to children, that will not expose them to material even potentially harmful, and that hopefully will contribute affirmatively to their growth.

We have not limited our attention to program improvement, but have also recognized a responsibility to add to the existing knowedge of how television and other influences can affect children's behavior.

In March, 1969, we committed NBC to an ambitious 5-year research study on this subject. We could have preferred to develop research findings more quickly. Our research specialists were convinced, however, that a principal gap in our knowledge called for research into television's influence on children's behavior in real-life situations, over a substantial period of time—what the social scientists call a "longitudinal" study.

This is one of the very types of studies specifically recommended by the Surgeon General's report as an important approach for further research. We began it 3 year ago, and it is now in mid-course. At this stage in our analysis, the preliminary indications are consistent with the general trend of the data in the Surgeon General's report. We are confident that the completed study will add substantially to scientific knowledge in this area.

We believe an accurate definition of the problem is essential to our search for a solution. I do not think anyone argues that conflict, excitement and confrontation should be eliminated from story-telling on television, because they are basic to most drama. These elements must be judged on the basis of their method of presentation, their meaning and their purpose.

Statistical counts are not very helpful in getting at this question, because they do not discriminate at all between different types of conflict and their meaning and intent. We are all familiar with studies that count up "violent actions" and develop statistics to show levels and trends of violence in television.

On that basis, and acceptable treatment of an infantry attack in a World War II drama might produce a high "violence score," while a single act of brutality in a program—which we would not accept—would produce a very low violence score.

For example, one of the studies mentioned in the Surgeon General's report found NBC's fantasy comedy, "I Dream of Jeannie," to be one of the most violent programs in the 1969 prime time schedule, while another study found it to be one of the least violent.

A series about a gentle James Thurber character, "My World and Welcome To It," was also included in the list of violent programs in one of the studies.

The "Walt Disney" programs had unspecified statistics laid against it that would lead you to believe that it is a violent program. We think it is not.

"Adam-12" has been a program highly commended for dealing with police work in a positive and moral manner, yet it is classified as violent by some studies.

I think we must be concerned about harmful depictions of violence—not with how often a playful genie performs fantasy mischief, which a statistical definition can interpret as violence even though no viewer saw it that way.

Our procedures for dealing with violence are organized and systematic. They are administered primarily by our Broadcast Standards Department, headed by NBC Vice President Herminio Traviesas. The department's work on programs starts with the concept and story outline and follows the production process through each step.

Mr. Traviesas is here with me, and will speak in more detail about our broadcast standards and how we apply them, but I would like to sketch briefly our general approach and philosophy.

We recognize, as I have said, that conflict is a part of almost all drama. The real question for us is not to condemn all action and conflict, but to present these elements in a way that does not glorify violence; does not treat it as an acceptable solution to human problems; does not present it in a brutal or disturbing fashion; and does not use it for shock effect.

Every season, in addition, we turn down program submissions or offers of movies because we believe they are inherently too violent, in theme and treatment, to meet our standards.

Of course, all of this effort involves human judgments. At NBC, these judgments are made by experienced, conscientious people who take our standards seriously and try to carry out their spirt and purposes.

Children's programming has been a matter of particular concern to NBC, and one to which we have devoted considerable attention and effort.

Beginning in 1968, we undertook a major overhaul of the Saturday morning network schedule, which consists entirely of children's programs. We started by replacing those children's programs that seemed to emphasize conflict and jeopardy with series emphasizing fantasy and natural history.

During the 1970–71 season, we continued to upgrade the quality of children's programming with the addition of informational elements within entertainment frameworks. Our present 1971–72 Saturday morning schedule represents a further upgrading in content with the addition of such programs as "Take A Giant Step."

Our children's schedule for next fall continues along this line, with specials as well as regular series that combine appeal and worthwhile content.

We have also developed a daytime series, five days a week, as a service to stations. It is an instructional program for pre-school children and their parents, called "Watch Your Child/The Me Too Show." The series is now carried on NBCs five owned television stations, and it is offered to all of our affiliated stations.

All this has been at substantial cost to NBC, both in terms of investments in new programming and in terms of diminishing sales revenues.

I want to summarize by emphasizing that at NBC, we do recognize the influence of our medium on American life, on children and adults alike. We do not assume this influence to be flawless. We have always acknowledged room for improvement, and we seek to operate in the best interests of the public. We will continue to do so.

Mr. Chairman, may I just add that I noted with great interest the remarks of Chairman Burch yesterday, in which he said that joint consultation is essential among broadcasters generally, and offered to act as a catalytic agent to make that consensus possible.

I would just like to add my endorsement to that, and our willingness to cooperate in any way to make that dialogue possible.

Senator PASTORE. We went a step further than that, Mr. Goodman. He was critical. I think he took a very strong position that violence is being overdone on television. There is no question about that, either. Now, we had the Surgeon General come before our committee and this is exactly what he said, "While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action.

"The data on social phenomena, such as television violence and/or aggressive behavior, will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of succinct statements of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come."

Now we had before us most of the members of the Advisory Committee. We had Dr. Mendelsohn, Dr. Coffin who represents NBC. We had a Dr. Siegel, a fine lady who came before the Committee. We had Dr. Pool; we had Dr. Klapper; we had Dr. Cisin; we had practically all of the members here. And when I confronted them with the question of whether or not they agreed with the Surgeon General that something needs to be done and right now, even Dr. Coffin agreed. And he is your man.

Now as I read your presentation here today, Mr. Goodman—frankly I can understand why it would be written this way by the President of NBC—I realize you have been trying, there is no question about that. But I believe from what I have heard here in the last two days that there is a lot of room for improvement and it ought to start pretty quickly.

I would hope that rather than fancy words being batted back and forth, that somehow reasonable people—after all, you do have a tremendous interest in this communication area—I would hope you people would sit down with the members of the FCC and possibly with the members of this Committee and see if we can't do something that is effective, so that public apprehension can be quieted. We all know that violence is part of life; you can't eliminate all of it. It all depends, as I said before, on how you portray it, how you depict it. The Report goes so far as to say that many, many times the rating goes up with the volume of violence.

Now the big question that arises here is violence being instituted in order to promote better ratings? Is it being done for profit? Is it being done just for the sake of making it more attractive to some viewers?

The fact is that television goes into 96 percent of all of the homes in America; it is part of American life. It is so good, you use it to sell products. It is good because of the profit that you make. And because it can sell so easily, it can sell a bad idea the same way it can sell a good idea. I think we all agree to that.

I am saying to you, Mr. Goodman, no one is going to push NBC around; no one is going to begin to twist your arm as some of these trade newspapers have been saying. I haven't tried to scare anybody, frighten anybody, or abuse anybody.

I think we are all reasonable people. I think something needs to be done. And I would hope the representatives of the three networks today would end up by saying, "Senator Pastore, we have read this Report; we have looked at it and followed the progress of the hearings, and we are going to take a hard look at this and do something about it." That would make us all feel a lot better.

Mr. GOODMAN. I will be glad to say that, Senator.

Senator PASTORE. You don't say that in your statement. You say, "Well, we have been trying; we are going to keep on trying." I want something a little more positive than that.

And fundamentally, let's face it, this committee, this Congress, no one can censor programing. No one can impinge upon the freedom of speech under the First amendment and no one proposes to do it. If this job is going to be done, and done right, it has to start right in your shop. Because that is where programs originate. Once in a while you will have to forget what the profit is going to be, or what the viewing rating is going to be, and do something that in the long run—that will be for the public good. The only trouble is unless all the networks do it together, there will be an imbalance competitively. I understand that.

The point today is when one network has a good program the other networks come along with the same kind of program almost at the same time. And then, of course, when you still can't compete successfully, an X-rated picture goes in that time slot.

I am wondering here what this challenge of competition really is. And whether or not we have now resigned ourselves so that the primary force has become profit and no longer public service. I am not ready to reach that conclusion. But I would hope that there would be a spirit of cooperation here today on the part of the heads of the network, and also on the part of the National Broadcasting Association.

I will tell you very frankly, Mr. Goodman, if you read the testimony of the members of that scientific committee who were here, you get a different tone than you get from reading the report. As we listened to each one, including even your representative, including the scientific representative of CBS, Dr. Klapper, you get a better insight as to what we are up against.

All we are talking about here is restraint and moderation. We are not talking about making these programs unattractive and bland. Bland is the word *Variety* used. It said we are trying to make everything bland. That is a lot of blah to me.

Mr. GOODMAN. Senator, may I comment on what you have said?

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Mr. GOODMAN. Or course, we agree with you that the time for action has come. And, of course, we are willing to cooperate in any way together with the rest of the industry. I think one of the points I tried to make, perhaps ineffectively, in my statement was that when I testified before you several years ago, I said we were going to make improvements in reducing the depiction of violence on the air. We have made those improvements. We have made them conscientiously and somehow we have been poor advocates of our own cause and we don't have, I think, enough recognition or understanding of the facts that those improvements have been made. I think perhaps one of the most important things that was said here yesterday was by Chairman Burch when he said a uniform consensus, a joint consensus of all broadcasters, not just the three networks, but all elements of the broadcasting industry, the syndicators, the production people, everybody involved, should get together and begin talking about this.

Because it is forgotten, I think, sometimes, that the competition which causes some of the things we don't like also made possible great broadcasting facilities that can reach more people simultaneously than any other medium in history and that has brought us good coverage of sports, Olympics, many of the things we do like. Sometimes when it presents things that need a little editing, we welcome the opportunities that Chairman Burch offered us yesterday to start talking together.

We are competitive; we no more can reach an agreement on something to do under our competitive system than the major car manufacturers can agree to paint all of their cars the same color.

Senator Pastore. I like your extemporaneous remarks better than your prepared statement. Senator Cannon.

Senator Cannon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, I want to say I completely agree and associate myself with the remarks of our distinguished chairman here. It seems to me you have made—if I may describe it this way—a very nice little statement, but it didn't say much. First you say there were uncertainties in the report and we all recognize that, but there definitely were some certainties in the report.

You say that we should seek to learn more. And I don't think anyone would disagree with that. But the point is, we are trying to deal with the problem that is here upon us now, and we need some action at this time. You say that you already screen your programs. Well, it is evident at this point that the screening is not adequate, because we still have the problem with us, and it is a very serious one.

You point out we need further research and you are doing that, and you are in midcourse in your research. Yet you say that you have been carrying this research on for 3 years now. So if you are in midcourse, I presume that you would have your research completed in 3 years. Therefore, in 3 years from now we can decide what ought to be done. That, to me, is not enough at this time.

Now you also say that "Mr. Traviesas will describe our broadcast standards and how we apply them." Well, that is well and good. I am willing to listen to how you apply your broadcast standards. But again I say it is evident that the broadcast standards you apply now are not adequate and are not working satisfactorily. You do say that you recognize the influence and will continue to seek improvements. Well, if we continue to seek improvements at the rate we have sought improvements up to this point, then I think my conclusion would be that we are not going to get the job done.

So we need to do something affirmatively and specifically and do it now. Not wait until 3 years from now for the completion of another study. I think this subject has been pretty well studied to death, as someone pointed out earlier in the testimony.

Now you may respond, sir. I recognize that is not a question.

Mr. Goodman. That is all right. I am glad to respond to it. I pointed out in my statement that we had not waited for the research to be completed before taking positive and affirmative steps to reduce the unnecessary violence. The broadcasting business is a very large one, covering a large number of companies and stations. I can speak only for NBC. I know in my heart that we have done a good job in reducing the amount of violence on the air and the way it is done.

As Senator Pastore said yesterday, it is the way it is done, not the number of points you add up in the total sum of violent acts of one kind or another, thunderstorms, and so forth, over the whole schedule. It is the way it is done. I know in my heart Mr. Traviesas and his people have done a good job in reducing that on NBC. Our study is just to add to the sum total of our knowledge, and it is not one that we expect to finish before taking further vigorous and affirmative action in this field.

Senator Cannon. Well, thank you. I can only say that I hope you will take more vigorous action and more affirmative action to try to get at this very serious problem.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Pastore**. Senator Baker?

Senator **Baker**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Goodman, we heard suggestions from previous witnesses that it might be appropriate and productive to have a private, nonprofit foundation established to monitor and rate television programs particularly for that segment of the viewing population which is young and without appropriate parental guidance.

I would be very happy to have your views on the probable effectiveness of such an arrangement and any further views you might have on how it might be structured and designed.

Mr. **Goodman**. Well, a number of ideas have been expressed here the past few days, Senator, about ways we could get at this point and that system was one of them. I think we should all consider with an open mind, all of the things that have been brought up here and the rating system you mentioned is one of them.

Without closing my mind to it, I have some doubts. I think it has some weaknesses, because the children are not always attended by parents, and it is quite possible that a rating might attract them to look at something they should not look at rather than turn them away from it. We can't make sure that every television set is attended by a parent.

Senator **Baker**. What you are saying is while it might be a good idea to have a rating system, that doesn't do the whole job.

Mr. **Goodman**. It doesn't come close to doing the whole job. I think we should examine exactly how it would work and see whether it would work as a favorable on unfavorable part of what we are trying to do.

Senator **Baker**. That is probably so, but I don't really believe that is an argument against it. The fact it doesn't do the whole job is no argument for not doing as much as we can.

Do you or do you not have any opposition to a voluntary, nonprofit rating structure of some sort being created and operated by the networks themselves and not by a governmental agency?

Mr. **Goodman**. I would have no objection to the principle, Senator. I think we should examine in detail how it would work before we sit here and give a snap judgment and say yes, that is the thing that will answer the question before us. I would like to examine it further in detail.

Senator **Baker**. In that same connection, the NAB Code, it seems to me, is designed to accommodate this problem in part as well.

While it may not be as accurately focused on the problem of violence as it affects children, the NAB Code directs itself toward program content and program format. Do you think that that might offer some technique for monitoring the violent episodes that dominate some TV presentations? Should strengthening of the Code itself be considered?

Mr. **Goodman**. Yes, it is a good Code, although I think we can stand to review it. I think it is the Code that is the main avenue to follow in order to explore further ways of doing this. This is a good possibility, the NAB Code.

Mr. Wasilewski will testify later this morning before the Committee.

Senator **Baker**. Does the NAB now have any provision, for prescreening of programs to determine their contents, or does the NAB function entirely on the basis of program descriptions supplied by the originators?

Mr. **Goodman**. Senator, I wonder if Mr. Traviesas could answer that.

Mr. **Traviesas**. At the present time we review with the NAB Code authority all new pilots that come up for the next season. They have a continuing survey through their monitoring system of the shows that are on the air and periodically they will call us or write us a letter about specific shows and we review that with them at our studios in New York.

Senator **Baker**. So in effect you do have a prescreening system under the NAB procedure for the pilot but not the ongoing program.

Mr. **Traviesas**. That is right.

Mr. **Goodman**. But the mechanism exists.

Senator **Baker**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Pastore**. Mr. Cook?

Senator **Cook**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Goodman, I don't have any questions except to say that I really don't have that much criticism relative to your statement, because I think the other statements will be the same. And I think of necessity maybe they have to be at this stage of the game.

I am amazed at how short a time some of us can be in Congress and forget about the tremendous competitiveness that has to exist between three major networks in the United States, and in regard to that competitiveness, what is required to get viewer attention. And to the extent that we are now saying to you that somehow or other something must be done. The conduit for doing this can only be us. As a matter of fact, if you and your fellow presidents at ABC and CBS got together and decided how you were going to do this, maybe the Justice Department would have to take some action. And the Justice Department would have to say somehow or other there was a great conspiracy going on between the respective networks in the United States and therefore it has to be stopped.

I think the thing that bothers me is I am not really sure what kind of guidelines are ever going to come from a hearing room atmosphere of this kind. The guidelines are really going to come when this Committee says to the networks we want to lend to you our aid and assistance, we want to have a series of meetings, we want to sit around the table and we want to come up with some standards. It is not going to do any good for us to portray—I don't know which network you will appear on tonight, whether you appear on your own. Maybe if you get chewed up real good, you will appear on somebody else's. But this is not going to solve the problem. As a matter of fact, I hope after these hearings are over and the meetings that will be required that we will not come out of these hearings with an antagonistic attitude toward each other. Because it is conceivable that this could happen and it would be unfortunate.

So I candidly say to you that you did speak for your corporation and I don't have the criticisms that my fellow members of the Committee had. Maybe the criticism really that I would have would be that maybe we should have sat down some time ago when this report first came out and had our around the table meetings relative to some guidelines and then after we came up with those guidelines, we, as that driving force, to see to it that it was done, then we hold these hearings and then we could talk logically with each other, having understood the industry problems that you face and that your competitors face and the problems that we face and then come in here with some semblance of a conclusion rather than a situation that may result in antagonism that will make it harder to get these things accomplished.

Mr. GOODMAN. I don't have antagonism, Senator, about these hearings or what might result from them. I have only perhaps a sense of frustration that we have not been able to put across the points that we have made some progress already and are continuing to make that progress. An example of that is over the past few years NBC, beginning in about 1968 or '69, when Senator Pastore, I last testified before you, we went back and we were beginning then to make changes in our children's schedule on Saturday morning progressively to take out——

Senator PASTORE. Do you remember what you said to me, Mr. Goodman? You said "I have a little boy who is the most precious thing I have in life. And when I looked at one of our programs on Saturday morning, I was appalled. And I thought that something should be done about it and something will be done about it."

That is all we ever asked.

Mr. GOODMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. If we hadn't started this, in all probability you might not have looked at that Saturday morning program. That is the point I am making here. I think through the cooperation of the networks, and I want to say to my friend from Kentucky that when I made my opening statement I said I want to do this without acrimony, there will be no incrimination. I made that clear.

We are not fighting one another here. We are trying to promote the public interest. If it is true that excessive violence on television does affect the aggressive nature and behavior of young people, we ought to know it. And I think it ought to take precedence over profit and competition if that is the case. The way we handle the ecology.

Mr. GOODMAN. We have accepted that fact, Senator, and the point I was making when I testified before you at that time was that we had already recognized that, and that I was concerned, because I was and still am a family man, and that young man is a little older now, but he is still my favorite adviser on programs such as these and I do know we have taken affirmative steps to bring about what I said we would.

I also know that those steps have reduced the viewing audience on NBC since 1969 to the end of last year, by 50 percent which obviously has to have an effect on our revenues.

If that kind of leadership we have tried to put across cannot be recognized, there is small incentive for us to do more. I think it was President Roosevelt who said the only thing about being a leader is to look back and find nobody behind you.

Senator PASTORE. And that is what we are trying to do.

Any further questions?

I want to thank you very much. It is always a pleasure to have you.

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Would you like Mr. Traviesas now to make his statement?

Senator PASTORE. Yes. I think that Mr. Traviesas should be allowed to speak.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. My name is Herminio Traviesas. For the last three years I have been vice president in charge of NBC's Department of Broadcast Standards. For nearly two years prior to that, I was NBC's Director of Broadcast Standards, West Coast. My experience in radio and television encompasses approximately thirty-five years, and it includes service as vice president of one the the largest advertising agencies, in charge of its Program Department.

First, it should be understood that the Broadcast Standards Department works with the NBC Program Department, which is responsible for the creative aspects of our entertainment schedule. Most entertainment programs are supplied to NBC by independent producing organizations.

At NBC, the Program Department reports to Mr. Don Durgin, president of the Network Division. The Department of Broadcast Standards, however, reports independently to corporate management. Thus, within NBC, two separate departments, in separate reporting lines, are responsible for maintaining program standards.

All entertainment programs, whether on film or tape, as well as commercial announcements, are reviewed by Broadcast Standards editors, and, when appropriate, by their supervisors, to make certain the programs comply with established company and industry policies. These policies are reviewed regularly and revised according to current circumstances, or whenever new knowledge is gained from consultants in the field of psychology. For instance, one such revision, resulting in more rigorous surveillance of our action shows came after the national tragedies of the Spring of 1968.

The Broadcast Standards staff, located in New York and Burbank, Calif., consists of 34 people. Each editor in the department's program unit is assigned to one or more shows. It is his responsibility to make judgments throughout the entire production process—starting with the program outline; then going to the original script and its several revisions; then the rough cut of the film or tape, and, finally the completed production ready for broadcast. All along the line, he keeps in constant communication with the producer about any problem in the area of Broadcast Standards concern, and requires revisions and deletions where necessary. The NBC representative and the production people together seek creative solutions that will meet the problems and still preserve the dramatic value of the program.

Throughout the process the Broadcast Standards editor coordinates his evaluations and observations with his counterpart in the Program Department, who is also in communication with the producer on creative and production matters.

Whenever there is special concern about how a scene might be directed, requiring review of the material as it is being filmed, an editor is present on the set either in the Hollywood area or on location.

If the program under surveillance centers on physical action, additional review procedures are followed.

After the Broadcast Standards editor and his Program Manager counterpart compare their observations, a meeting is held with the Vice President of Program Production and the Director of Broadcast Standards.

The meeting follows somewhat formalized procedures. The editor describes the reasons for his concern, and the program manager suggests how the action scene might be modified for acceptability. The heads of the departments then ask questions. If in their judgment the violent scenes are not handled properly they are not approved, and the producer is advised accordingly.

At times scripts or outlines are submitted whose themes are such that no amount of correction can make them acceptable according to NBC standards. When this happens, we immediately notify the producer of our disapproval.

There have been other occasions when a script, after careful review, seems acceptable, but the rough-cut film, when screened, treats sequences in a way which is objectionable and which we could not have anticipated from the script itself. I recall a case, some years ago, when this very problem arose. In that case, we were prepared to shelve the whole film, but because this story was an interesting one and the performances were excellent, we found ways of completely revising the objectionable sequences, even down to replacing the musical score, so that the result was wholly acceptable. Since then, we have learned to establish very clear understandings, at the script stage, of just how the material will be played. And even then, we are careful to judge the film in terms of its actual treatment, and request changes at that stage if they are necessary to meet our standards.

In addition to our own broadcast standards procedures, as soon as our fall schedule is set, I review with the director of the NAB Code Authority the format of each new series. He then requests a review of the pilot of any program with which he is not familiar, as some of the pilots have already been telecast as an episode of a current series. After his review, the code authority advises us of any code concern that it might have.

In addition, the code authority through its regular monitoring procedures periodically discusses with us individual episodes that have been telecast. These comments are then passed along to our editors and in turn the producers.

In the area of feature films produced originally for theatrical release, NBC has reviewed 817 features since September 1961. Of these, 139 have been completely rejected because they were believed to be unsuitable for television.

Of the latter group, 47 were rejected primarily because of violence. I believe it is an interesting index of the conservatism of television in relation to motion pictures that one of these had a motion picture industry rating of "G" suitable for all family viewing.

When a film is acceptable in general theme and treatment, but contains objectionable sequences that can be removed without impairing the overall work, we work with the program supplier to try making the film acceptable under our standards by editing out the objectionable material. Since the fall of 1969 we have edited over 40 films, to remove such materials, and with these edits we have been able to accept them.

Senator **Baker**. What ratings have these films had that you edited, or did they have ratings?

Mr. **Traviesas**. We haven't come to that problem. We have not had ratings. The "R" and "X" rated movies, very few of them have been submitted to us. There was one "R" movie just recently submitted to us which we originally felt could not be accepted. We turned the problem over to the producers. They came to see us with their editors, reviewed with me all of the problems. came back to us, and did a magnificent job of set editing, editing out everything and still preserving the contents.

Senator BAKER. Have you shown that program?

Mr. TRAVIESAS. No, we have not.

Senator BAKER. What I am driving at is the question of whether or not you edit these things and then how you advertise them. I think particularly of one instance where there was an "X" rated movie that was edited to take out the presumably "X" rated material but it has been called to my attention the publicity still advertised an "X" rated movie.

Mr. GOODMAN. If I may interject on that, I cannot conceive of circumstances under which we would carry an "X" rated movie. But even if we were to, we would certainly not advertise it in any way that would entice people to look at for that reason.

Senator BAKER. That is a very welcome addition to the record, Mr. Goodman. Thank you.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. To make certain that all outside producers who supply programs for our schedule understand our concern and attitude in applying NBC program standards, we hold meetings before production of a new season begins with as many of the outside production staffs as possible. I have conducted these meetings for the last three years, and each time I have stressed our continuing concern about any portrayal of violence and the ways we approach the problems of dramatic conflict. In general, we have found the program suppliers cooperative, and they recognize that it is not our intention to hinder valid areas of expression by creative people.

The task of the Broadcast Standards Department is a sensative one and in an era of rapid social change, the job becomes more difficult.

I might add that I have attended all of these meetings, and I am now scheduled to go out the second week of April to talk to the producers, And what I have learned here has been very, very good for me in telling the producers what the problem is.

Senator PASTORE. I am very happy to hear you say that. What role does Dr. Coffin play in all of this? Does he play a role in this? Or is he in a separate shop?

Mr. TRAVIESAS. Dr. Coffin brings to our attention special psychologists, for instance. I remember after '68, Cy Lesser, who is not a psychologist, but a teacher at Amherst, came and prepared a paper for us for guidelines. And we took Mr. Lesser to the west coast and discussed his guidelines and we established those as our background for how we were to survey the various action shows.

We also have had talks with Dr. Politsky. In other words, Dr. Coffin feeds us material.

Senator PASTORE. I want it clearly understood that no one wants to put the television industry out of business. I can understand the consternation that is prevalent throughout the country. But all we are talking about here is a little bit of restraint, undoing the abuse and undoing the overkill, that is about the size of it all.

I think, as you have said, if we have impressed you, so you will go back with a different attitude and different spirit, that in itself has justified these hearings. That is primarily what we are trying to accomplish. No one wants to shackle the industry in such a way that it can't be productive and entertain the American people. No one wants that at all.

But the point is, I think the report is clear. I mean you can dance around it anyway you want, but essentially the central point of the report is that there is a casual effect. Not all children, not everybody is affected in the same way. But even if it means a small number, and when we say a small number in a society of 200 million people, it is a large number, a large number. We are not interested in percentages here, we are interested in people. I don't think the industry wants to purposefully harm American minds, especially those of children. I realize that. But sometimes we get lost in this competiveness, and we seem to forget some important things. That is a human frailty. We are all guilty of it.

All we are trying to do here is generate more awareness as to what the problem is. We do get mail. We will have mothers come in and testify as to how they feel about the matter. We didn't invent this. We started this, as Mr. Goodman knows, a long, long time ago. I think we have made progress. I don't think we have reached the end of the line, however.

I think, myself, if we try harder we can do a much better job. That is all we are trying to do.

Any further questions of this witness?

(No response.)

Senator Pastore. Thank you very much. Mr. John Schneider.

I think this is your first appearence as president before this committee, is that right, Mr. Schneider?

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. SCHNEIDER, PRESIDENT, CBS/BROADCAST GROUP, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Mr. Schneider. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Pastore. We welcome you.

Mr. Schneider. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee: My name is Jack Schneider, and I am president of the CBS/Broadcast Group. I welcome this opportunity to appear here today to explore the issues raised by the report, "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence," issued by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on television and social behavior.

As President of the CBS/Broadcast Group, I would also like to outline for this committee the views of CBS regarding our responsibilities in this area.

Since the publication of the report, there has been much discussion and debate about its conclusions and findings. Notwithstanding that debate, I hope that we can all agree that we know more today about television violence than we did on March 5, 1969, when you requested that the Surgeon General initiate this study.

Indeed, Mr. Chairman, I believe the report goes far to provide the public with a better perspective with which to consider the issues presented by portrayals of violence on television.

I have studied the report. It tells me that anyone seeking easy answers to questions about the effects on society of the portrayal of violence on television will be disappointed. The report says four things which I believe clearly present the complexity of the social issues facing us today:

First, there are preliminary and tentative indications of a causal relationship between viewing violence and aggressive behavior, and indications that this relationship holds only for some children who are already predisposed to be aggressive, and only in some environmental contexts.

Second, in quantifying possible causes of violence in our society, the available evidence suggests that the viewing by children of violent television is of small effect compared with many other possible causes, such as parental attitudes or knowledge of and experience with the real violence in our society.

Third, it is not clear what the net effect would be if broadcasters simply changed the quantitative balance between violent and other kinds of shows, since people hunt and choose the kinds of stimulus material they want—and violent material is popular.

And, fourth, the sheer amount of television violence may be unimportant compared with how the medium treats violence.

The Advisory Committee has pointed the way to a more rational consideration of the portrayal of violence on television. No responsible body has suggested the elimination of all violence from television, for we would then be talking about eliminating not only such mass entertainment series as "Gunsmoke," "The FBI," and "Bonanza" from television, but also such dramatic offerings as "The Six Wives of Henry VIII," and indeed such children's classics as "Treasure Island," "The Wizard of Oz," and many others. And what would we do with football and hockey—not to mention news reports from Vietnam, and the recent fighting in Bangladesh?

It is interesting to note that shortly after the Advisory Committee's report appeared, a BBC report on violence included an aide memoire to its producers, which said in part:

> As such, violence has been present in drama from earliest times. It plays a part in certain forms of sport. For political or personal ends, it is resorted to daily in every country. And the natural violence of eruptions, floods and earthquakes frequently eclipses man-made violence by its scale. To exclude all scenes of violence from the television screen would be to falsify the picture of life presented to the viewer. A television service which bore no relation to the viewer's own experience of the world would quickly lose his respect, and, ultimately, his allegiance.

The Advisory Committee report notes that if nothing in our society changed other than "changing the balance of television offerings, people, to some degree, will seek out violent material."

Importantly, the report also states that "more drastic changes, such as general censorship, would clearly have wide effects, but of many kinds, and some of them distinctly undesirable."

Many of the Advisory Committee's findings are tentative and indeed offer no answers to many of the questions we all have regarding how violent acts can be most acceptably portrayed. If social and esthetic reality suggests that portrayals of violence cannot and should not be eliminated from television or any other art form, the question still remains: How should such portrayals be treated?

I believe the greatest significance must be attached to the following statement of the Advisory Committee:

> The sheer amount of television violence may be unimportant compared with such subtle matters as what the medium says about it: Is it approved or disapproved, committed by sympathetic or unsympathetic characters, shown to be effective or not, punished or unpunished? Social science today cannot say which aspects of the portrayal of violence make a major difference or in what way. It is entirely possible that some types of extensive portrayals of violence could reduce the propensity to violence in society and that some types might increase it. In our present state of knowledge, we are not able to specify what kinds of violence portrayal will have what net result on society.

Informed guidance in this area would be invaluable. Perhaps, as some suggest, violence should not be "sanitized"—that is, violent portrayals should more explicitly show the direct and indirect effects of a violent act. In a western drama, this might involve showing not only the gunfight, but prolonged scenes of the victim bleeding, as well as depiction of the intense pain he suffers. Until now we have not felt it wise to emphasize these elements.

Yet, in light of the questions posed by the Advisory Committee, it would seem clear that informed social policy demands that we attempt to find answers to these and other questions.

Senator PASTORE. You are not suggesting, are you, sir, that the Advisory Committee Report suggests we have more violence?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, sir, not more violence.

Senator PASTORE. I don't understand what that paragraph means, "Yet, in light of the questions posed by the Advisory Committee, it would seem clear that informed social policy demands that we attempt to find answers to these and other questions." Are you saying sometimes it is better to have more violence.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, sir. I believe the Surgeon General on Tuesday addressed himself briefly to sanitization, the sanitizing of violence, where we have been avoiding explicit violent acts on television, and it was his position that we did not accurately present the horror associated with violent acts, and that if we shot the scene more explicitly, it might develop an abhorrence for violence among elements of our audience.

Senator PASTORE. I suppose it all depends on how you do that, too.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I was addressing myself, Mr. Chairman, to the idea that over the past few years, we have increasingly been, let me use the trade term, sanitizing the portrayal of violence, making it less explicit. We thought that was in good taste and the proper course of action to take.

Senator PASTORE. I read a story in the newspaper not long ago—of course, we can't be responsible for every individual case, and I don't state it for that reason—that a young boy who after looking at a TV show went downstairs in the cellar, and just to experiment, put a rope on a beam and hanged himself. He tried to imitate what he saw on the screen. So he stood on a chair and stumbled from the chair, and hanged himself accidently. That is how he was impressed with what he saw. That doesn't mean every child will do the same thing, I know that. But sometimes these impressions can be very vivid.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. That is why, of course, I think the industry has taken the position that we do not demonstrate explicit acts of violence and the gore that can be associated with them.

I thought that it was important to state that there was a body of opinion that was critical of broadcasting for not showing the gory and explict acts of violence and the results, the agony and pain and suffering, because we had not shown the ugly effects. I introduce it only to show the dilemma broadcasters frequently face as we go forward in trying to use our best judgment to present an acceptable product.

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. If I may continue, sir.

Senator PASTORE. Yes, please.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. The programming issues I have been discussing are, of course, most sensitive during the early evening, when the audience includes significant numbers of children and adults.

Much has been said about the need for prosocial programing on television. Not everyone will agree on a definition of "prosocial" content. Yet if what is meant is that programing should reflect such human values as compassion and affection, and most importantly, should exemplify the nonaggressive solution of human problems—these values are currently reflected in many television programs today. On CBS, these include such series as "My Three Sons," "The Dick Van Dyke Show," and "Arnie." And over the years, there have been numerous series and specials of this nature on CBS and the other networks.

And yet we must also program for the adult viewer. In this regard, I believe it not unreasonable to recognize a parental responsibility to control the viewing habits of children. If there are some parents who will not exercise this responsibility, should this result in the elimination of programing which adults in particular enjoy?

CBS also presents many programs specifically created for the younger audience. This is particularly true of Saturday morning and serves as one example of how we are meeting our programing responsibilities for the younger viewers.

The 1966–67 television season included a heavy diet of animated "super hero" series on Saturday mornings. By the 1969–70 season, we started the phaseout of the super hero. That season, five new Saturday morning programs were introduced.

And in 1970–71, the super hero was gone, and CBS introduced Saturday morning informational programing for children. This series, "In the Know," offered 3-minute encyclopedia minidocumentaries five times throughout the morning.

This season, the series has been succeeded by "In the News"—news reports for children, broadcast every half hour.

Thus, from 8:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., we offer entertainment in animated form, with news reports every half hour. From 12:30 p.m. to 1:00 p.m., we present "You Are There," a series of eyewitness historic events produced for the young audience. CBS News correspondent Walter Cronkite serves as the anchorman for the series. From 1:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m., CBS offers its award-winning series, "The CBS Children's Film Festival," which includes motion pictures produced all over the world for children.

In summary, we now have a 6-hour Saturday schedule that includes almost an hour of news and information, a distinguished children's film, and the balance other entertainment for young viewers.

I have not listed the total schedule of programs designed for children broadcast by CBS, but I believe this brief summary demonstrates our efforts to improve the quality of programs designed for children.

Much has also been said in the advisory committee's report of the need for research. CBS has not been unmindful of this need. Since it was founded in 1962, the CBS Office of Social Research has committed approximately $1.5 million to research involving broadcasting and society. Two-thirds of this amount—or about $1 million—has been devoted to research regarding television violence.

I would like to mention briefly two current projects, since they relate to the advisory committee's report. One of the studies, by Dr. Stanley Milgram, is summarized on pages 121 and 122 of the report.

Another interesting study that we are funding will hopefully provide information on a vast number of questions raised to date regarding exposure to television violence. There are several pioneering features in this study, including an attempt to measure the cumulative effects of viewing violence over a 14-year period, from 1958 to 1972. The study will also attempt to relate such effects to various types of violence, such as punished and unpunished. The study will inquire not only into aggressive or violent behavior, but also related attitudes regarding violence, such as callousness, apathy, tolerance, approval and the like.

I do not know how successful this ambitious project will be. However, we have confidence in the investigator, Dr. William Belson, who is director of the Survey Research Centre, London School of Economics. Dr. Belson is or has been a consultant to BBC and Scotland Yard.

I have cited these two projects—which will cost CBS almost $700,000—to make clear that we, too, are seriously concerned with the need to advance our knowledge through responsible research.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, CBS has long believed that because of important First Amendment considerations, it would be inappropriate for the Government to intrude directly or indirectly into the programing process. This freedom entails responsibilities on the part of broadcasters. CBS accepts these responsibilities. We do not pledge to eliminate all violence from television because we do not believe that to be a desirable course. We pledge that as a result of the findings of the advisory committee report the concerns of that report will play—and have already played—a significant decisional role in the number, scheduling, and creative treatment of action-adventure material on CBS.

Additionally, while much of what is presently broadcast by CBS presents prosocial material, we will seek out suggestions from responsible social scientists and other qualified persons with regard to emphasizing these values in our programing.

Because of the significance of television in our society, the matters we discuss today take on great importance. I am well aware of the responsible manner in which you and your colleagues have traditionally approached these questions. You have my assurance that we at CBS will continue to carry out our responsibilities to the public.

Senator **Pastore**. Could you tell us what the role of Dr. Klapper is at CBS?

Mr. **Schneider**. He is the head of the Office of Social Research and as such he keeps track of the state of the art through all of academia, all of the sources of social science research and brings the findings of those projects to our attention. He stays current in his field and advises us. He also supervises our commissioning of research and follows the progress of that research as it goes along.

Senator **Pastore.** You were not here during the previous two days, were you?

Mr. **Schneider.** Yes, sir, I was here Tuesday morning.

Senator **Pastore.** Now you will recall we had the members of the Advisory Committee here. I mean your statement leans so much upon the Advisory Report, and the interpretation you give it. I am not questioning your interpretation, but there was a consensus that the Report was rather conservative and cautious only because it had to be unanimous. But the fact still remains that we heard from Dr. Lefkowitz who conducted a longitudinal study of this subject, taking children from the third grade to 19 years of age. He started some years back, in 1955 I think he said.

I raised the question that inasmuch as we had written the letter to the Secretary of HEW only three years ago how was he in a position to say what would happen to the child at the age of 19. That was cleared up by him saying this was a study he and his associates who testified here yesterday began many years before my request to the Secretary of HEW.

Mr. **Schneider.** I wasn't here yesterday, I was here Tuesday.

Senator **Pastore.** He brought out the fact that there was a distinct relationship. There was no question about it.

The only reason I bring that out is the fact that everyone keeps leaning on this report. There are some people who feel that we ought to have a review of this report, we ought to put it before the National Academy of Science and let them look at the research work and appraise it. Whether or not that is going to be done, I won't get into that at this moment.

But the fact still remains that I was very much impressed by these individuals who appeared before this committee. And the tone was a little different than reading the report. I read the report very carefully as you did and I came out with mixed feelings, I will tell you that very frankly.

I kind of thought there were some inconsistencies. They kept emphasizing the words some, not most, not all. And that is not the question.

The question here is that this television goes into all of the homes of America and the responsibility is to serve all the society of America. And if we damage, say, 10 million youngsters out of 50 million youngsters, that may be not a large percentage, but the fact still remains that it represents 10 million human souls and it is our responsibility to see they are not damaged.

Mr. **Schneider.** I accept both statements.

Senator **Pastore.** I received a letter from the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury who wrote saying that it would be ironic if O'Hara were knocked off the air, a program being sponsored by CBS.

I asked him where he got this nonsense. He said he called up somebody at CBS and they told him because Senator Pastore is holding these hearings, in anticipation of these hearings, we will cancel this program.

Is that true?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, sir.

Senator PASTORE. It is not true, is it?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, sir. Obviously I read yesterday's transcript and did anticipate you would bring up the subject as you indicated yesterday you would.

With your permission I would like to read a brief statement to that effect.

Senator PASTORE. Please.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, sir.

I have read that part of the transcript of yesterday's hearing which contains the letter sent to you by Mr. Rossides concerning "O'Hara, U.S. Treasury Agent."

I have also discussed the contents of this letter with Robert D. Wood, President of the CBS Television Network, who talked to Mr. Rossides about the series.

The facts are as follows: Approximately 3 weeks ago Mr. Rossides telephoned Mr. Wood, and in the course of an extended telephone conversation, urged him to continue the series in the 1972–73 schedule for the CBS Television Network. Mr. Wood responded by outlining the problems CBS faced in renewing "O'Hara," including the somewhat disappointing audience level achieved by the series, the large number of new programs then under consideration, and the conclusions contained in the Advisory Committee's report.

In this regard, Mr. Wood referred to the hearings scheduled before this subcommittee which would take up the report of the Advisory Committee and in so doing identified you, Senator Pastore, as the subcommittee's chairman.

Mr. Wood has told me that this was the only mention of your name, to identify the Advisory Committee report, in a shorthand fashion, as the report submitted to your subcommittee. Mr. Wood did not tell Mr. Rossides that "O'Hara" would be canceled because of the hearings scheduled before this subcommittee but he did indicate the chances for survival of the series into next season were not good.

Senator PASTORE. Because of what reason?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I want to assure you that the decision now to renew "O'Hara" was made in the normal course of our program decision process and that neither you nor this subcommittee were referred to as the reason for that decision either in the deliberations within CBS or in Mr. Wood's telephone conversation with Mr. Rossides.

Senator PASTORE. In other words, if the decision was made at all, it is because the viewing public or the rating has fallen down. Is that so?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Ratings are only one of the considerations.

Senator PASTORE. But these hearings had nothing to do with that decision.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, sir, they do not.

Senator PASTORE. I want to dispel the idea that members of this committee are frightening anybody or can do anything, not that we could.

The point is we don't propose to do so.

We hold these hearings not to incriminate anyone, but to promote the public interest. That is our concern.

Now, the question—you are familiar with the testimony of Dean Burch before this committee; are you not, sir?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, sir.

Senator PASTORE. And he made the suggestion that there ought to be more conversations—we don't want any violation of the antitrust laws, or we don't want you to tell NBC the kind of show you are contemplating. We don't want you to give away your trade secrets to them. We know that. We live in a competitive world. We, on this committee, are as knowledgeable as anybody else as to the facts of life and the facts of the business community. But that doesn't enter into the picture at all.

This question of violence on television and the effect it has on children and other people of course is a very important subject. I think it has disturbed you as much as it has disturbed the members of this committee.

Sometimes we have to look to experts to tell us what the limitations might be. I, myself, in some instances, don't need scientific proof, I think commonsense would be the answer. Most of us know when something is being abused, overdone.

As you say, we can't eliminate all the violence. But we are trying to bring this down into a proper context. I think some improvement has been made over the years because of hearings we have had before this committee.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes; it has.

Senator PASTORE. After all, the American taxpayers paid more than a million dollars to have this study made. It was made because there was always the thought in somebody's mind that there was no connection between televised violence and aggressive behavior.

I am the one who took the position, "Let's find out scientifically." We did it on cigarette smoking. And I suggested that it go to the Surgeon General for the simple reason he undertook the study on cigarette smoking, and he is the No. 1 health officer of the country. And he called in a number of very distinguished people to sit on this Committee.

Now the question arose as to whether or not the broadcasting industry should have been given the power of veto. I think that was regretful. I don't think it served much purpose, but the fact still remains I was very much impressed when I asked your Dr. Klapper, and Dr. Coffin, who represents NBC, how they felt about this, and both of them agreed with the Surgeon General.

I think they were very fair in that regard, because after all if anyone could accuse anyone of having a conflict of interest they could have accused them. Yet they took the same position other members did. They took a position that something needs to be done and it ought to be done soon.

I would hope that Dean Burch will pursue his plan and I would hope that you would cooperate with him because I think in the final analysis there has got to be self-restraint in the industry. Like you pointed out, we are shackled by the first amendment in a sense that we cannot interfere or impinge upon free speech and nobody wants to do it.

And the Commission is limited under the Communications Act of 1934 so that it cannot dictate programing and we don't propose to do that. All we are asking for here is a reasonable attitude toward this very important subject by men who are considered to be mature men, reasonable men, family men who have a tremendous responsibility in this particular area. And I put you in that class, sir.

Mr. Schneider. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I accept that.

Senator Pastore. Mr. Baker?

Senator Baker. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I find the testimony thus far very enlightening. It gives the subcommittee a better insight into the attitude of the networks and their executive management as far as children's programing is concerned, and vis-a-vis the Advisory Committee report.

But in previous testimony I touched on another matter that dealt indirectly with children's programing, but more directly with program content and I mentioned it again this morning and that is this question of rated movies.

Day before yesterday, on Tuesday, I asked permission to, and the Chairman permitted me to put in the record a letter from a distinguished theologian in Tennessee having to do with the attitude of the Christian Life Commission on CBS screening of an X-rated movie. The point that is made in that letter and in that resolution and in much other correspondence and comment that I have had is that while there was a sanitizing, so-called, of the X portions of "The Damned," it was called to my attention that apparently the publicity for that programing still advertised it as an X-rated movie. That poses a real dilemma for me.

Mr. Schneider. It poses a dilemma for me too, Senator.

Senator Baker. That is in terms of what we can expect the networks to do in terms of policing their own efforts.

Mr. Schneider. Well, Senator, we did not advertise "The Damned" as an X-rated movie. There was no advertising that included any movie rating of any kind. There were certainly newspaper articles that indicated that it was an X-rated movie in its original theatrical release form. That is not the form we acquired. We acquired this picture from Warner Brothers and at the time we took delivery on it, already 23 minutes had been taken out of it. We took an additional 13 minutes out of it entailing 18 cuts. And it simply was not an X movie when we took delivery of it, we did not exploit it as an X-rated movie, we did not advertise it as an X-rated movie.

When we were through cutting it, it was suitable for television.

Senator Baker. How did this material get in the papers? What release did CBS make of this material? How did you promote the showing of this or any of the others in the series of films that you acquired in that package?

Mr. Schneider. We had press releases with which we would have serviced the consumer and trade press.

Senator Baker. Do you have those press releases?

Mr. Schneider. Not with me.

Senator Baker. Do you know whether they referred to the fact this was an X-rated movie and you had cut 23 minutes out of it? Was that released to the press and put in the news release when you publicized these films?

Mr. Schneider. I don't at this point recall whether the press release or the press releases regarding "The Damned" indicated the extent of the cutting, or how much had been cut out of it before we acquired it from Warner Brothers.

Senator BAKER. I have here newspaper clippings, one I turn to now is a rather extensive story on this and other films in that series to be shown by CBS. The one I am looking at is a byline by Jerry Corker of the Miami Herald Newsday Wire. There are others.

I wonder if you would be amenable to supplying to the committee for the record at this point any press releases that the network issued, in conjunction with the acquisition or showing of this film?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, sir; of course.

Senator BAKER. Would the Chairman be agreeable to having that included in the record?

Senator PASTORE. Yes. As a matter of fact this is a subject I am very much interested in. When I heard of it, I sent a steaming telegram to Dr. Stanton; and I got a steaming letter back from him. And then he got another one from me.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I am not privy to all that correspondence, Senator.

(The information follows:)

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.,
Washington, D.C., April 5, 1972.

NICHOLAS A. ZAPPLE, Esq.
Staff Counsel, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ZAPPLE: During Mr. Schneider's testimony before the Subcommittee on Communications on March 23, questions were asked regarding CBS publicity and promotional treatment of our showing of "The Damned." Specifically, Senator Baker asked Mr. Schneider if he would supply for the record "any press releases that the network issued in connection with the acquisition or showing of the film." Accordingly, enclosed herewith is the press and promotional material (described more specifically below) which the CBS Television Network distributed in connection with "The Damned."

The package includes (1) three publicity releases sent to daily newspapers and CBS affiliates, (2) an advance program log sent to newspapers and affiliates,[1] (3) a glossy photo with caption sent to newspapers and affiliates, (4) a program promotion kit for the CBS LATE MOVIE distributed to affiliates, (5) a transcript of the copy used in network on-the-air promotional announcements, (6) a mailogram with suggested copy for locally originated announcements by our affiliates, and (7) the February 26 issue of *TV Guide* which contains a CBS advertisement for the film.

In none of this material was there any reference to the fact that "The Damned" had a Motion Picture Association rating of "X" in its original theatrical release. Promotional treatment of "The Damned" was comparable to that given other films presented in THE CBS LATE MOVIE, a series which made its debut on February 14.

Senator Baker also asked whether Robert D. Wood, President of the CBS Television Network, had replied to the editorial on WBTV Charlotte, N.C., which criticized CBS for showing "The Damned." Senator Baker asked Mr. Schneider if he would submit Mr. Wood's reply.

At the time of his testimony, Mr. Schneider stated that he was not certain whether Mr. Wood had decided to reply, but that if he did a copy of the reply would be provided to the Committee. He has since taped a reply which was broadcast by WBTV; a transcript is enclosed.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH DEFRANCO,
General Attorney.

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[1] Items 1 and 2 appear on pp. 203–216; items 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 have been placed in the committee files.

Senator **Pastore**. I know. But I am saying it, somebody can dispute it if they want to. But I was very much pleased to read that Channel 9, your affiliate here in Washington, refused to show it and has taken the position that they will never show a picture that has ever been so classified.

Mr. **Schneider**. My position on this, Senator, is that we are not going to try to accommodate the theatrical rating system, because that is the rating that is given to that movie for theatrical exhibition.

We take movies from the major motion picture companies that might have a GP rating, and they will nevertheless require editing before they meet what we feel are acceptable broadcast standards. There are levels of violence in GPs, levels of other things we find necessary to edit out. If we can acquire a picture and edit it to make it suitable for television—that is what we want to be responsible for, what we broadcast, not what had previously been distributed and exhibited in another form, in another medium and rated by others who don't have broadcasting responsibility.

I simply don't take the position that once a movie is an X or R or GP, it is that forever.

Senator **Pastore**. That may be so. But has the creativity of the industry become so bereft that they have to begin to sanitize X movies in order to keep the program going. That is the big question. Naturally there is always a certain color to an X movie, there are certain people in our society who love to go and see things of that kind. Sometimes something that is not X is rated X just to draw a crowd.

Mr. **Schneider**. That may have been true years ago. I am not sure it is today.

Senator **Pastore**. Will you agree to this, that there is a distinction between what you can see in a movie house and what should be shown on the TV screen?

Mr. **Schneider**. Yes, of course.

Senator **Pastore**. Of course. That is the point we are making.

If people care to pay the additional price to go see an X movie that is one thing, that is their privilege. I propose to do nothing to stop them or interfere with it. That is their pleasure, let them enjoy it. But I think it would be regrettable to see the same thing on the TV screen.

You say it has been sanitized. But the point is, it was characterized as X at one time. The minute you announce the title of the movie, everybody knows it was an X-rated movie whether you say so or not. There is no question at all. I have received telegrams from people at home who say what is this? How far are we going? Finally after consideration your affiliate refused to show it. And the position they took was this, and you will be amused when I tell you. It had been sanitized so much that it was no longer a good picture anyway. And they didn't care to show it.

Mr. **Schneider**. Senator, if I could turn back the clock, we wouldn't have gotten involved with "The Damned," we wouldn't have gotten involved with it as an X movie, or the idea that it was an X movie because it wasn't an X movie when we acquired it.

Obviously I regret that the whole thing had to hoppen. But the point is nevertheless that we will be responsible for what we broadcast.

Senator **Pastore**. That is right.

Mr. **Schneider.** We had to edit "The Damned" to such an extent that it probably wasn't as good as it was intended to be. It was clearly less attractive as a television movie presentation than we would have liked it to be when we got through editing.

We may have engaged in some bad judgment in its acquisition, but we did acquire it, we did broadcast it and I stand behind the version that was broadcast over CBS that night.

Senator **Pastore.** The only thing I want to say is I think you made one big mistake.

Mr. **Schneider.** You may be right.

Senator **Baker.** The fact of the matter is The Damned still ran on TV.

Mr. **Schneider.** Yes, it did.

Senator **Baker.** I have a copy of an editorial on WBT, AM–FM TV, a CBS affiliate in Charlotte, calling on you to respond, or calling on Mr. Robert Wood, president of the network to respond to their editorial criticizing the network for the showing of The Damned.

I wonder if you would be agreeable to submitting any reply CBS made.

Mr. **Schneider.** I am not certain whether Mr. Wood has decided to reply to that editorial or not, but in the event he does decide to reply we will provide you with his reply.

(The material follows:)

MARCH 30, 1972.

A REPLY BY CBS TELEVISION NETWORK PRESIDENT ROBERT D. WOOD TO A WBTV, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, EDITORIAL

(Note: Mr. Wood's reply was broadcast on WBTV on Monday, March 27 at 6:50 PM, ET, and 11:26 PM, ET, and on Tuesday, March 28 at 7:40 AM, ET, and 12:20 PM, ET.)

I am Robert D. Wood. As President of the CBS Television Network, I am here to reply to the WBTV editorial which stated that the station would not present THE CBS LATE MOVIE—"The Damned"—because it carried an X-rating when shown in motion picture theaters.

CBS is fully prepared to be judged by what it actually puts on the air for viewing on your television set.

On the other hand, we reject the notion that we should be judged on something we did *not* put on the air.

And CBS did *not* present an X-rated movie. Nor did we ever exploit it as one.

"The Damned" in its original theatrical version was 2 hours and 40 minutes long. As presented on the CBS Television Network, it ran 2 hours and 4 minutes. With 36 minutes edited from the original version, all scenes which might be considered in questionable taste even for late night viewing were eliminated. By such responsible and exacting editing, this film became a move which conformed to the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters—a Code to which both the CBS Television Network and WBTV subscribe.

But far more important issues are involved then the questions raised by this particular film:

First, I don't believe broadcasters should ever delegate to outside groups—including a motion picture organization—the decision about what feature films we in television can or cannot put on the air. When we apply *television* standards, we find that even some G-rated films cannot be presented *without* editing; just as we have discovered that this film was made completely acceptable *with* editing.

Secondly, I want to remove any misconception you may have gained that the CBS Television Network is any less anxious that WBTV in maintaining taste and decency when we are invited as a guest into your home.

Senator **Baker.** How many of your affiliated stations declined to run "The Damned?"

Mr. SCHNEIDER. The normal distribution of the late movie is 169 stations and 30 of them declined to accept it.

Senator BAKER. How many other X-rated movies do you have?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. We have no other X-rated movies in our libraries at this time.

Senator BAKER. Do you have any R-rated movies in your library at this time?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. We are considering some R-rated movies providing they can be edited.

Senator BAKER. What is an R-rated movie?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I believe it is one to which no one under 17 is admitted without being accompanied by a parent or adult.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Schneider, the essence of our inquiry, it seems to me, is whether or not the networks can exercise through their own devices or otherwise some sort of discipline on program contents related to violence, related to its impact on children, relating to program contents vis-a-vis the X-rated movie controversy with "The Damned." I would like to know who makes the final determination on whether or not a particular program will or will not run based on its particular contents?

Is it the commmercial department? Is it your adviser on sociology? Is it you? Is it the network president who makes that determination?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. First of all, it is not the commercial department. Many people participate in the creation of the program schedule, which we change every September, as you know. But as to a particular episode, the ultimate responsibility is that of the president of the network. He is advised by his program practices department. It reports directly to him, not through the program department. So that if there is a program in which there is a disagreement between the producer or the program executives of the network and the program practices department, that ultimately has to be decided by the president of the network. He may or may not seek my counsel in the process. Most times he would not.

Senator BAKER. Thank you very much.

Do you know whether or not there has been any consultation with representatives of the other two major networks about policy considerations in showing so-called sanitized versions of X- or R-rated movies?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Each of the networks has a seat on the Television Code board and if they were discussing it I should think it would be under the umbrella of the NAB Code board.

Senator BAKER. Did you, yourself, or anyone to your knowledge have consultations with the other two networks about "The Damned?"

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Oh, no.

Senator BAKER. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The material follows:)

PREMIERE

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
PRESS INFORMATION
51 WEST 52 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

January 12, 1972

PRIME-TIME MOVIES COME TO LATE-NIGHT TELEVISION

"THE CBS LATE MOVIE" PREMIERES MONDAY, FEB. 14 WITH SIDNEY POITIER, SHELLEY WINTERS AND ELIZABETH HARTMAN IN "A PATCH OF BLUE"

Prime-time motion pictures come to late-night network television when "The CBS Late Movie" makes its debut Monday, Feb. 14 on the CBS Television Network with the premiere presentation, "A Patch of Blue," starring Academy Award-winners Sidney Poitier and Shelley Winters, and Elizabeth Hartman.

Other films scheduled for presentation during the first week of "The CBS Late Movie" are "Anniversary," starring Oscar-winner Bette Davis, on Tuesday, Feb. 15 (World Television Premiere); "Twilight of Honor," with Richard Chamberlain, Joey Heatherton and Nick Adams, on Wednesday, Feb. 16 (World Television Premiere); "The Glass Bottom Boat," starring Doris Day, Rod Taylor and Arthur Godfrey, on Thursday, Feb. 17, and "The Fearless Vampire Killers," with Sharon Tate and Roman Polanski, on Friday, Feb. 18 (World Television Premiere).

Following are details of the week's schedule (starting times are 11:30 PM, EST):

MONDAY, FEB. 14 - "A Patch of Blue," the tender and poignant story of a blind girl who suddenly discovers the world around her.

TUESDAY, FEB. 15 - Bette Davis, starring in "Anniversary," presents a memorable portrait of evil as a monstrous matriarch who stops at nothing to maintain her iron grip on her adult sons.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16 - "Twilight of Honor," a tense, absorbing courtroom drama about a man accused of the wanton murder of the leading citizen of a small town.

THURSDAY, FEB. 17 - "The Glass Bottom Boat," a gay romantic comedy set against the background of California's Catalina Island.

FRIDAY, FEB. 18 - "The Fearless Vampire Killers" combines comedy and suspense in a story about a man who goes hunting for a castle full of vampire killers.

In succeeding weeks other World Television Premiere films will be: "Strawberry Statement" with Bruce Davison and Kim Darby, "The Hill" with Sean Connery, "Trog" with Joan Crawford, "Crooks and Coronets" with Telly Savalas, "Children of the Damned," "Kenner" with Jim Brown, "Five Man Army" with Peter Graves and James Daly, "Signpost to Murder" with Joanne Woodward and Stuart Whitman, "Sol Madrid" with David McCallum and Stella Stevens, "The Curse of Frankenstein," Luchini Visconti's "The Damned," "The Priest's Wife" with Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni, and "In the Cool of the Day" with Jane Fonda.

Other films are "An American in Paris" with Gene Kelly and Leslie Caron, "Girl Happy" with Elvis Presley, "Boys Night Out" with Kim Novak and James Garner, "The Night of the Iguana" with Richard Burton, Deborah Kerr and Ava Gardner, "The Last Challenge" with Glenn Ford and Chad Everett, "Please Don't Eat the Daisies" with Doris Day and David Niven, "The Sandpiper" with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton, and "Penelope" with Natalie Wood.

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
PRESS INFORMATION
51 WEST 52 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

February 7, 1972

LUCHINO VISCONTI'S "THE DAMNED," WITH CAST OF DISTINGUISHED STARS, LEADS OFF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE" SCHEDULE FOR WEEK STARTING FEB. 28

"The Damned," Luchino Visconti's powerful drama, probing deeply into the German soul during the rise of Nazism in the 1930s and starring such distinguished international performers as Dirk Bogarde, Helmut Griem, Ingrid Thulin and Charlotte Rampling, leads off the third week of "The CBS Late Movie" Monday, Feb. 28 on the CBS Television Network. This marks the initial showing of "The Damned" on television. (Starting time for films on "The CBS Late Movie" is 11:30 PM, EST.)

Doris Day and David Niven star as the harassed parents of four lively youngsters in the film version of Jean Kerr's best-selling book, "Please Don't Eat the Daisies," on Tuesday, Feb. 29.

"Torpedo Run," thrill-packed story of the relentless chase of a Japanese aircraft carrier following the attack on Pearl Harbor, will be presented on Wednesday, March 1. Glenn Ford and Ernest Borgnine star.

"The Law and Jake Wade," suspense-thriller starring Robert Taylor and Richard Widmark, is the presentation for Thursday, March 2. The story focuses on two former gang partners, one of whom has become a lawman while the other still pursues his lawless ways.

Elvis Presley stars in "Girl Happy," a musical romance set in Florida where the college set descends to spend the annual Easter vacation, on Friday, March 3. Shelley Fabares, Gary Crosby, Joby Baker, Nita Talbot, Chris Noel and Mary Ann Mobley co-star.

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
PRESS INFORMATION
51 WEST 52 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

February 8, 1972

"THE DAMNED," LUCHINO VISCONTI'S POWERFUL DRAMA, TO HAVE FIRST TELEVISION SHOWING ON "THE CBS LATE MOVIE"

"The Damned," Lucino Visconti's widely acclaimed, perceptive portrait of a great German steel family which backed the Nazi party as Hitler rose to power during the 1930s, will be presented for the first time on television on "The CBS Late Movie" Monday, Feb. 28 (starting at 11:30 PM, EST) on the CBS Television Network.

Dirk Bogarde, Ingrid Thulin, Helmut Berger, Helmut Griem and Charlotte Rampling star in the film.

The powerful story exposes a corrupt and degenerate dynasty of industrialists whose personal tragedies unfold against a background of historical events. The film begins with news of the Reichstag fire in 1933 and it ends with the infamous "Night of the Long Knives" in June 1934, when one Nazi faction massacred another. In the interval, the power-hungry members of the dynasty pursue their destructive motives as they succumb to the influence of Nazi domination.

Luchino Visconti directed and, with Nicola Badalucco and Enrico Medioli, wrote the screenplay for the 1970 Warner Brothers release. Alfred Levy and Ever Haggiag were the producers.

Friederich Bruckmann	DIRK BOGARDE	Elisabeth	CHARLOTTE RAMPLING
Baroness Sophie	INGRID THULIN	Olga	Florinda Bolkan
Aschenbach	HELMUT GRIEM	Guenther	Renaud Verley
Martin	HELMUT BERGER	Herbert	Umberto Orsini

* * *

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
PRESS INFORMATION
51 WEST 52 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

February 8, 1972

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK ADVANCE PROGRAM SCHEDULE

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27 THROUGH SATURDAY, MARCH 4

NOTE TO EDITORS:

Please check local station log for delayed broadcasts of any of the programs listed in this schedule. (All times are EST)

*Indicates change
(R) Indicates rebroadcast
(C) Indicates color broadcast

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27

AM

*6:50 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*8:30 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C9:00 - TOM & JERRY, cartoon series. (C)

C9:30 - THE GROOVIE GOOLIES, cartoon series. (C)

*10:00 - LAMP UNTO MY FEET, religious series. (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*10:30 - LOOK UP AND LIVE, religious series. (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C11:00 - CAMERA THREE, experimental series; James Macandrew, host.(C)

C*11:30 - FACE THE NATION, with CBS News Correspondent George Herman as moderator. (C) (EDITORS: PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

PM

*12:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*1:30 - NATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE GAME OF THE WEEK. Pittsburgh Penguins vs. Montreal Canadiens. Dan Kelly describes the play by play and Jim Gordon provides the color commentary. (From Montreal Forum, Montreal.) (C)

C*4:00 - JACKIE GLEASON-INVERRARY CLASSIC. The broadcast covers the action on the final four holes on the last day of the four-day, 72-hole golf tournament, the richest in the 1972 professional tour. Jackie Gleason, tournament host, will be a roving reporter and Jack Whitaker, Ken Venturi, Ray Scott, Pat Summerall and Frank Glieber will be the commentators. (From the Inverrary Country Club, Lauderhill, Fla.) (C) (EDITORS: COVERAGE OF THE THIRD DAY OF THE FOUR-DAY, 72-HOLE TOURNAMENT WILL BE PRESENTED ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26 AT 5:00 TO 6:00 PM, EST)

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27 (Cont'd)

PM

C*5:30 - ANIMAL WORLD, a series of entertaining and informative broadcasts that picture the wildlife of many regions of the world, in both natural and man-made habitats, with Bill Burrud, as host-narrator. The broadcast focuses on the ostrich, the world's largest and angriest bird and how it has been saved from extinction. (C)

C6:00 - 60 MINUTES, a CBS News series of weekly broadcasts presented in a magazine format, with CBS News Correspondents Mike Wallace and Morley Safer as on-the-air editors. (C)

*7:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

*7:30 - THE CBS SUNDAY NIGHT MOVIES.

C*9:30 - CADE'S COUNTY, contemporary Western adventure series, starring Glenn Ford, with co-star Edgar Buchanan and featuring Peter Ford, Taylor Lacher, Victor Campos and Betty Ann Carr. Cade is drawn into a feud between the matriarch of a department store chain and her son when a series of seemingly meaningless acts of vandalism is perpetrated against the young man. Jeanette Nolan and Scott Marlowe play guest roles. (C)

*10:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C11:00 - CBS SUNDAY NEWS WITH DAN RATHER. (C)

*11:15 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28

AM

*6:20 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*7:00 - CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOHN HART. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*8:00 - CAPTAIN KANGAROO, gentle adventures for children. "Captain Kangaroo" is played by Bob Keeshan. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*9:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*10:00 - THE LUCY SHOW, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball. "Lucy the Philanthropist." (C) (R)

C10:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series starring Fred MacMurray. (C)(R)

C*11:00 - FAMILY AFFAIR, comedy series, starring Brian Keith and Sebastian Cabot. Guests: Peter Duryea, Nancy Walker.(C)(R)

C11:30 - LOVE OF LIFE, drama, starring Audrey Peters. (C)

PM

C12:00 - WHERE THE HEART IS, drama, starring Diana van der Vlis. (C)

C12:25 - CBS MID-DAY NEWS WITH DOUGLAS EDWARDS. (C)

C12:30 - SEARCH FOR TOMORROW, drama, with Mary Stuart. (C)

C*1:00 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C1:30 - AS THE WORLD TURNS, drama, with Helen Wagner. (C)

C2:00 - LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDORED THING, drama. (C)

C2:30 - THE GUIDING LIGHT, drama, with Charita Bauer. (C)

C3:00 - THE SECRET STORM, drama, with Lori March. (C)

C3:30 - THE EDGE OF NIGHT, drama, with Ann Flood. (C)

C*4:00 - GOMER PYLE -- USMC, comedy series, starring Jim Nabors. "Whither the Weather." (C) (R)

*4:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*5:00 - FIVE O'CLOCK NEWS. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION)

*5:10 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:00 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*7:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*8:00 - APPOINTMENT WITH DESTINY - "Showdown at O.K. Corral," third broadcast in a series of five drama specials. Filmed at the actual site, the drama presents a suspenseful reenactment of events leading to the most celebrated gunfight in frontier history. A long and complex cycle of feuds and counter-feuds preceded a final confrontation joining the Earp brothers (Wyatt, Virgil and Morgan) and their friend "Doc" Holliday against the Clantons and the McLaurys in a vacant lot adjacent to the O.K. Corral in Tombstone, Ariz., on October 26, 1881. Lorne Greene is the narrator. (C)

C*9:00 - HERE'S LUCY, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball and co-starring Gale Gordon with Lucie Arnaz. Kim Carter discovers that a girl who leaves the family homestead and gets her own apartment isn't necessarily liberated -- especially when her mother, Lucy, manages to make her maddening presence felt. (C)

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28 (Cont'd)

PM

C*9:30 - THE DORIS DAY SHOW, comedy series, starring Doris Day and featuring John Dehner and Jackie Joseph. Werner Klemperer guest stars as Jacques Moreau, director of an international fashion show, and Doris Martin persuades him to include in the show fashions created by her own couturier, who is in reality a dry-cleaning-and-alterations shopkeeper. (C)

C*10:00 - THE SONNY & CHER COMEDY HOUR, comedy-variety series, starring the popular husband and wife singing team as hosts. Guest star: Ken Berry. Ted Zeigler, Peter Cullen, Murray Langston, Freeman King, Tom Solari and Clark Carr are featured. (C)

*11:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*11:30 - THE CBS LATE MOVIE. "The Damned," starring Dirk Bogarde, Ingrid Thulin, Helmut Berger, Helmut Griem and Charlotte Rampling. Luchino Visconti's widely acclaimed perceptive portrait of a great German steel family who backed the Nazi party as Hitler rose to power during the 1930s. (1970) (C)

AM

(EDITORS: AT END OF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE," SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 29

AM

*6:20 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*7:00 - CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOHN HART. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*8:00 - CAPTAIN KANGAROO, gentle adventures for children. "Captain Kangaroo" is played by Bob Keeshan. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*9:00 - SEE LOCAL STATION LOG

C*10:00 - THE LUCY SHOW, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball. "Lucy Sues Mooney." (C) (R)

C10:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series starring Fred MacMurray. (C)(R)

C11:00 - FAMILY AFFAIR, comedy series, starring Brian Keith and Sebastian Cabot. (C) (R)

C11:30 - LOVE OF LIFE, drama, starring Audrey Peters. (C)

PM

C12:00 - WHERE THE HEART IS, drama, starring Diana van der Vlis. (C)

C12:25 - CBS MID-DAY NEWS WITH DOUGLAS EDWARDS. (C)

C12:30 - SEARCH FOR TOMORROW, drama, with Mary Stuart. (C)

C*1:00 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C1:30 - AS THE WORLD TURNS, drama, with Helen Wagner. (C)

C2:00 - LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDORED THING, drama. (C)

C2:30 - THE GUIDING LIGHT, drama, with Charita Bauer. (C)

C3:00 - THE SECRET STORM, drama, with Lori March. (C)

C3:30 - THE EDGE OF NIGHT, drama, with Ann Flood. (C)

C*4:00 - GOMER PYLE -- USMC, comedy series, starring Jim Nabors. "Gomer, the Recruiter." (C) (R)

*4:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*5:00 - FIVE O'CLOCK NEWS. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION)

*5:10 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:00 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:30 - THE GLEN CAMPBELL SHOW, music-comedy-variety series, starring Glen Campbell. Guest stars: Arte Johnson, Jerry Reed and Anne Murray. Larry McNeely and the Mike Curb Congregation are featured. (C)

C*8:30 - HAWAII FIVE-O, starring Jack Lord and featuring James MacArthur, Zulu, Kam Fong, Richard Denning and Peggy Ryan. Danny goes undercover as a Navy corpsman to flush out a drug ring operating from a vessel in the U.S. Seventh Fleet. This episode was filmed aboard the guided missile destroyer U.S.S. Preble (DLG-15) based in Pearl Harbor. (C)

C9:30 - CANNON, dramatic series, starring William Conrad as a top-level private investigator. (C)

*10:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*11:30 - THE CBS LATE MOVIE. "Please Don't Eat the Daisies," starring Doris Day and David Niven. Story of a happily married couple as they try to cope with their four irrepressible offspring in a New York apartment. Janis Paige, Spring Byington and Richard Haydn co-star. (1960) (C) (R)

AM

(EDITORS: AT END OF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE," SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1

AM

*6:20 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*7:00 - CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOHN HART. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*8:00 - CAPTAIN KANGAROO, gentle adventures for children. "Captain Kangaroo" is played by Bob Keeshan. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*9:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*10:00 - THE LUCY SHOW, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball. "Lucy and Carol Burnett." (Part I) (C) (R)

C10:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series starring Fred MacMurray. (C)(R)

C*11:00 - FAMILY AFFAIR, comedy series, starring Brian Keith and Sebastian Cabot. Guest: David Ladd. (C) (R)

C11:30 - LOVE OF LIFE, drama, starring Audrey Peters. (C)

PM

C12:00 - WHERE THE HEART IS, drama, starring Diana van der Vlis. (C)

C12:25 - CBS MID-DAY NEWS WITH DOUGLAS EDWARDS. (C)

C12:30 - SEARCH FOR TOMORROW, drama, with Mary Stuart. (C)

C*1:00 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C1:30 - AS THE WORLD TURNS, drama, with Helen Wagner. (C)

C2:00 - LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDORED THING, drama. (C)

C2:30 - THE GUIDING LIGHT, drama, with Charita Bauer. (C)

C3:00 - THE SECRET STORM, drama, with Lori March. (C)

C3:30 - THE EDGE OF NIGHT, drama, with Ann Flood. (C)

C*4:00 - GOMER PYLE -- USMC, comedy series, starring Jim Nabors. "The Secret Life of Gomer Pyle." (C) (R)

*4:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*5:00 - FIVE O'CLOCK NEWS. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION)

*5:10 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:00 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*7:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*8:00 - THE CAROL BURNETT SHOW, music-comedy-variety series, starring Carol Burnett. Guest stars: Tim Conway and Eydie Gorme. Harvey Korman, Lyle Waggoner, Vicki Lawrence, The Ernest Flatt Dancers and the Peter Matz Orchestra are featured. (C)

C*9:00 - MEDICAL CENTER, drama series, starring Chad Everett and James Daly. (C)

C*10:00 - MANNIX, detective adventure series, starring Mike Connors and featuring Gail Fisher. Mike Connors plays a dual role -- as Joe Mannix and as a jewel thief who impersonates the private detective. (C)

*11:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*11:30 - THE CBS LATE MOVIE. "Torpedo Run," starring Glenn Ford and Ernest Borgnine. Diane Brewster and Dean Jones co-star. A thrill-packed story of the relentless chase of a Japanese aircraft carrier following the attack on Pearl Harbor. (1958) (C) (R)

AM

(EDITORS: AT END OF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE," SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

THURSDAY, MARCH 2

AM
*6:20 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C*7:00 - CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOHN HART. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)
C*8:00 - CAPTAIN KANGAROO, gentle adventures for children. "Captain Kangaroo" is played by Bob Keeshan. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)
*9:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C*10:00 - THE LUCY SHOW, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball. "Lucy and Carol Burnett." (Part II) (C) (R)
C10:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series starring Fred MacMurray. (C)(R)
C11:00 - FAMILY AFFAIR, comedy series, starring Brian Keith and Sebastian Cabot. (C) (R)
C11:30 - LOVE OF LIFE, drama, starring Audrey Peters. (C)
PM
C12:00 - WHERE THE HEART IS, drama, starring Diana van der Vlis. (C)
C12:25 - CBS MID-DAY NEWS WITH DOUGLAS EDWARDS. (C)
C12:30 - SEARCH FOR TOMORROW, drama, with Mary Stuart. (C)
C*1:00 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)
C1:30 - AS THE WORLD TURNS, drama, with Helen Wagner. (C)
C2:00 - LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDORED THING, drama. (C)
C2:30 - THE GUIDING LIGHT, drama, with Charita Bauer. (C)
C3:00 - THE SECRET STORM, drama, with Lori March. (C)
C3:30 - THE EDGE OF NIGHT, drama, with Ann Flood. (C)
C*4:00 - GOMER PYLE -- USMC, comedy series, starring Jim Nabors. "You Get Your Won Ton." (C) (R)
*4:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C*5:00 - FIVE O'CLOCK NEWS. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION)
*5:10 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)
C*7:00 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)
*7:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C8:00 - ME AND THE CHIMP, situation comedy series, starring Ted Bessell. Anita Gillette co-stars and Scott Kolden and Kami Cotler are featured. (C)
C*8:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series, starring Fred MacMurray with William Demarest, and featuring Stanley Livingston, Barry Livingston, Tina Cole, Beverly Garland, Dawn Lyn and Ronne Troup. Barbara blossoms forth as a championship cook when Steve becomes preoccupied with a time-consuming company project. (C)
*9:00 - THE CBS THURSDAY NIGHT MOVIES.
*11:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)
C*11:30 - THE CBS LATE MOVIE. "The Law and Jack Wade," starring Robert Taylor and Richard Widmark. The drama revolves around two former gang partners, one now the respected marshal of a small New Mexico town and the other about to be executed for a crime. Patricia Owens, Robert Middleton, Henry Silva and DeForest Kelley are featured. (1959) (R)(C)

AM
(EDITORS: AT END OF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE," SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

FRIDAY, MARCH 3

AM

*6:20 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*7:00 - CBS MORNING NEWS WITH JOHN HART. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*8:00 - CAPTAIN KANGAROO, gentle adventures for children. "Captain Kangaroo" is played by Bob Keeshan. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*9:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*10:00 - THE LUCY SHOW, comedy series, starring Lucille Ball. "Lucy and Viv Reminisce." (C) (R)

C10:30 - MY THREE SONS, comedy series starring Fred MacMurray. (C)(R)

C*11:00 - FAMILY AFFAIR, comedy series, starring Brian Keith and Sebastian Cabot. Guest: Nancy Walker. (C) (R)

C11:30 - LOVE OF LIFE, drama, starring Audrey Peters. (C)

PM

C12:00 - WHERE THE HEART IS, drama, starring Diana van der Vlis. (C)

C12:25 - CBS MID-DAY NEWS WITH DOUGLAS EDWARDS. (C)

C12:30 - SEARCH FOR TOMORROW, drama, with Mary Stuart. (C)

C*1:00 - SUNRISE SEMESTER, college level series, conducted by New York University faculty members. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C1:30 - AS THE WORLD TURNS, drama, with Helen Wagner. (C)

C2:00 - LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDORED THING, drama. (C)

C2:30 - THE GUIDING LIGHT, drama, with Charita Bauer. (C)

C3:00 - THE SECRET STORM, drama, with Lori March. (C)

C3:30 - THE EDGE OF NIGHT, drama, with Ann Flood. (C)

C*4:00 - GOMER PYLE -- USMC, comedy series, starring Jim Nabors. "Gomer and the Card Shark." (C) (R)

*4:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*5:00 - FIVE O'CLOCK NEWS. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION)

*5:10 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:00 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

*7:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*8:00 - O'HARA, UNITED STATES TREASURY, starring David Janssen. Guest star Martha Hyer portrays an embittered, alcoholic wife of a racketeer whose unpredictable behavior can spell life or death for special agent Jim O'Hara. (C)

C*9:00 - THE NEW CBS FRIDAY NIGHT MOVIES. "Heat of Anger," with Oscar-winning film star Susan Hayward, in her television acting debut, and James Stacy as co-stars. A high-powered lady attorney and self-assured young lawyer team up in the defense of a wealthy contractor accused of murder. Lee J. Cobb guest stars and Fritz Weaver appears in a special guest star role. (C)

C10:30 - "THE DON RICKLES SHOW," starring Don Rickles. Louise Sorel, Erin Moran, Robert Hogan and Judy Cassmore are featured. (C)

*11:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*11:30 - THE CBS LATE MOVIE. "Girl Happy," starring Elvis Presley. A musical romance set in Florida, where the college set descends during an Easter vacation. Shelley Fabares, Gary Crosby, Harold J. Stone, Joby Baker, Nita Talbot, Chris Noel and Mary Ann Mobley co-star. (1965) (C) (R)

AM

(EDITORS: AT END OF "THE CBS LATE MOVIE," SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

SATURDAY, MARCH 4

AM

*6:25 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C8:00 - THE BUGS BUNNY SHOW, cartoon series. (C)

C8:30 - SCOOBY DOO, WHERE ARE YOU?, cartoon series. (C)

C8:56 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C9:00 - THE HARLEM GLOBETROTTERS, cartoon series. (C)

C9:26 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C9:30 - HELP! IT'S THE HAIR BEAR BUNCH!, cartoon series. (C)

C9:56 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C10:00 - PEBBLES AND BAMM-BAMM, cartoon series. (C)

C10:26 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C10:30 - ARCHIE'S TV FUNNIES, cartoon series. (C)

C10:56 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C11:00 - SABRINA, THE TEENAGE WITCH, cartoon series. (C)

C11:26 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C11:30 - JOSIE AND THE PUSSYCATS, cartoon series. (C)

C11:56 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

PM

C12:00 - THE MONKEES, action series featuring that leading musical group. (C)

C12:26 - IN THE NEWS, news for children, with Christopher Glenn. (C)

C*12:30 - YOU ARE THERE, children's version of the classic CBS News series of "eyewitness" reenactments of historic events. "Fall of Troy" reenacts the dramatic final hours before the capture and destruction of the ancient city of Troy by the Greeks. CBS News Correspondent Walter Cronkite is the anchorman, with CBS News Reporters Bob Bahr, Richard O'Brien and Walter Lister as on-the-scene reporters. Glenn Walken and Nancy Coleman are featured in the cast. (C) (R)

*1:00 - THE CBS CHILDREN'S FILM FESTIVAL, with Burr Tillstrom's Kukla, Fran and Ollie with Fran Allison as hosts. "The Little Ones," an English film about two runaway youngsters and their search for a better place to grow up. Kim Smith and Carl Gonzales appear in the title roles. Dudley Foster, John Chandos, Jean Marlow and Peter Thomas are featured. (R)

*2:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*4:00 - CBS GOLF CLASSIC. The team of Tom Weiskopf and Bert Yancey meets the team of George Archer and Bobby Nichols in a quarterfinal match of the team best-ball, match-play tournament played at the Firestone Country Club, Akron, Ohio. Jack Whitaker and Ken Venturi are the commentators.

*5:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C*6:30 - CBS EVENING NEWS WITH ROGER MUDD. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:00 CBS EVENING NEWS WITH ROGER MUDD. (C) (PLEASE CHECK LOCAL STATION FOR BROADCAST TIME IN YOUR AREA.)

C*7:30 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

C8:00 - ALL IN THE FAMILY, comedy series, starring Carroll O'Connor, Jean Stapleton, Rob Reiner and Sally Struthers, and featuring Mike Evans. (C)

C*8:30 - THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW, situation comedy series, starring Mary Tyler Moore and featuring Edward Asner, Valerie Harper, Gavin MacLeod, Ted Knight and Cloris Leachman. Guest star Bill Daily portrays a newly elected city councilman who is eager to appear on Ted Baxter's television news show, but Mary Richards thinks it unwise to subject him to Baxter's inept questioning. (C)

SATURDAY, MARCH 4 (Con'td)

PM

C*9:00 - THE NEW DICK VAN DYKE SHOW, comedy series, starring Dick Van Dyke and Hope Lange. Marty Brill, Fannie Flagg, Nancy Dussault and Angela Powell are featured. Manager Ted Atwater warns that everyone at his station will be fired unless Dick can attract more viewers and raise more money than the other channel in a two-station 24-hour charity telethon. (C)

C9:30 - ARNIE, comedy series, starring Herschel Bernardi with Sue Ane Langdon and Roger Bowen, and featuring Elaine Shore, Herb Voland, Tom Pedi, Del Russel and Stephanie Steele. (C)

C10:00 - MISSION: IMPOSSIBLE, adventure-suspense drama series, starring Peter Graves, Greg Morris, Lynda Day George and Peter Lupus. (C)

C*11:00 - (SEE LOCAL STATION LOG)

* * *

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much, Mr. Schneider.

Mr. Elton Rule, President, American Broadcasting Company.

Mr. Rule, I think this is your first appearance as the president of American Broadcasting Company before this Committee and you are most welcome. You may now proceed, sir.

STATEMENT OF ELTON H. RULE, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANIES, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES DUFFY, PRESIDENT, ABC TELEVISION NETWORK, AND ALFRED SCHNEIDER, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.

Mr. RULE. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications, my name is Elton H. Rule. I am president of American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. With me this morning are James Duffy, president of the ABC Television Network, and Alfred Schneider, a vice president of the American Broadcasting Company.

I thank you for your invitation to participate in these hearings and to present ABC's views on the recently issued Report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

The committee's task of assessing the impact of televised violence on the viewer was a most complex and difficult one. Although we have not been able to complete our study of the basic underlying research data, I believe the report represents a carefully considered overview and summation of the research projects concerned with the complicated question of the relationship between television viewing and violent behavior.

Although I do not have the expertise to question the complex psychological and psychiatric evaluations of the report, I have nevertheless tried to understand the many difficult scientific and technical concepts involved, as well as the Advisory Committee's conclusions.

Many questions, some of them extremely important, remain unanswered. However, the report does appear to establish that televised violence, under certain circumstances, may increase to some degree, aggressive behavior in some children. This finding, in itself, represents a substantial advance in our knowledge, and the industry and we at ABC will have to weigh its implications very seriously.

It is indeed unfortunate that present knowledge is insufficient to identify the children who become more aggressive when exposed to television violence. Likewise, we do not really know the size of the group so affected or the circumstances and stimuli which tend to increase aggression in children.

Nevertheless, now that we are reasonably certain that televised violence can increase aggressive tendencies in some children, we will have to manage our program planning accordingly.

Senator PASTORE. I congratulate you for that statement.

Mr. RULE. Based on our understanding of the report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, a few of our old judgments were reinforced and several new conclusions were reached:

(1) By this coming fall, ABC will have entirely eliminated from its weekend children's schedule the type of cartoon series that depends

solely on "action" and is devoid of comedy. I think the clearest way I can illustrate the substantial progress we have achieved in deemphasizing violence in children's programing is to indicate that almost 50 percent of our weekend children's schedule in the 1968–69 season consisted of programs falling within the above category and that this type of series now represents less than 10 percent of our Saturday-Sunday morning schedules. As of next season, programs like this will be a thing of the past on ABC.

(2) Even greater emphasis is being placed on presenting children's programs which resolve conflict situations through wit, charm, intelligence and imagination.

(3) The overall balance of the different types of programs which ABC presents in prime time will be even more carefully evaluated in selecting future projects for development and series to be included in the network's prime-time schedule.

(4) When selecting a time period for new prime-time series, the program concept and, more importantly, the content of a series will also be more carefully considered in the future in terms of its possible adverse effect on children and young viewers.

(5) Substantial sums have been spent by ABC in the past 2 years for original research relating to the effects of televised violence, and we intend to intensify our efforts in the immediate future. Over the next 4 years, ABC will have expended an additional $1 million on original research in this area. The research we underwrite will include the areas which the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee indicated as most needed. The specific projects which we will sponsor are being currently discussed with our independent research consultants and we will be guided by their advice.

I assure the members of the subcommittee that ABC has shared your concern for the nation's young people. To underline this concern, it might be helpful at this point to review more fully what ABC has accomplished for its younger audience in the three years which have elapsed since I last appeared before you.

At the outset, I would like to remind you that Saturday and Sunday mornings are programed exclusively for children. So, naturally, our first priority was placed upon a review of the programs we presented at those times. While we were de-emphasizing violence in these programs directed to children, we also made a continuing commitment to improve the quality of the weekend children's schedule.

We have made improvement of this area of the television network's schedule one of our priority concerns. We resolved consistently to try to upgrade our children's programing.

The first new children's series of this nature to be developed by ABC was "Curiosity Shop," a one-hour weekly program which innovatively combines animation, film, live action and music.

The objective of the series, which was telecast in the 1971–72 season, was to arouse the child's natural curiosity and to involve the child in explorations that stimulate his understanding of himself and the world around him. This series is primarily aimed at the 6 to 11 age group.

Another children's series—"Make A Wish"—was developed by ABC News as a half-hour weekly program for the 1971–72 season. "Make A Wish" also combines information, instruction and entertainment. Each program in the series deals with a topical development, blending current events with the imaginative flights of fancy so common to young people.

In the latter part of 1970, we decided to attempt to stimulate further industry-wide and public consideration of this all-important area of programing. As a result, the ABC Television Network sponsored the first Children's Programing Workshop in June of 1971.

The workshop provided a forum in which knowledgeable persons, having diverse and sometimes antagonistic interests and opinions, could come together and discuss the improvements of television for children. There were over 400 participants at the two-day session. They included representatives of advertisers, advertising agencies, networks, stations, program producers, and government, as well as members of religious and citizens' organizations.

At the conclusion of the Workshop, ABC prepared a booklet containing the texts of the statements delivered by the speakers at the conference and summary of the roundtable discussions which were held at one session. The booklet was widely distributed to all participants at the Workshop and among various elements of the industry.

Many of the ideas advanced at the Workshop merited further exploration, experimentation and development. In retrospect, the Workshop reinforced our commitment to improve the programs we present for children. In this connection, we also sought the counsel and guidance of members of the National Education Association, as well as the Bank Street College of Education, before finalizing our development plans for children's programming for the 1972–73 season.

The network's sincere efforts to achieve more sound more stimulating television for children will be apparent in our scredule next session.

For example, a new series of five-minute informational programs for children, set to contemporary music backgrounds, will premiere in January, 1973 and will be presented frequently on Saturday and Sunday mornings. These programs will respond to a basic challenge—to convey useful information, which is likely to be assimilated by young viewers because it entertains them. The Bank Street College of Education assisted in the development of the concept for this informational series.

The network will also present a monthly series of hour-long special programs for children starting in the fall of 1972. These programs will originate on weekdays after school hours and will contain information that will complement grade school activities and classroom work.

The range of subjects will be broad, encompassing literature, science, history, current events, the arts and physical fitness. Again as an example, one program, titled "William," starring Sir John Gielgud, Sir Ralph Richardson and Lyn Redgrave, will introduce young viewers to Shakespeare. The Bank Street College of Education is also serving as the educational advisor for this project.

Finally, "Kid Power," another new series scheduled for next season, will feature a group of children of different ethnic backgrounds who reflect divergent attitudes and perspectives. The series is being written by Morrie Turner, who was co-chairman of the 1970 White House Conference on Youth, and is based on his nationally syndicated comic strip, "Wee Pals."

Each half-hour episode will portray stories conveying such basic lessons as brotherhood, honesty, physical fitness, selflessness and the like, in an effort to combine effective learning with entertainment.

I believe that the ABC Television Network can be justifiably proud of the progress it has achieved in the area of children's programming in the past three years.

I am sure you all know that the meaningful change of direction we undertook could not be effected in a single, miraculous stroke. The sometimes unpleasant reality of our industry is that basic changes take time. However, we view next season's weekend entertainment programming for children with a sense of considerable accomplishment and pride.

I do not mean to suggest that we regard our task as completed. Far from it. We intend, to the very best of our ability, to continue our efforts to provide children with exciting, stimulating, interesting, informative and entertaining programs.

Over the past 2 years, ABC has also sponsored on-going research into the effects of televised violence on children. ABC has retained two teams of entirely independent research consultants who are eminently qualified in this field:

One research team is Lieberman Research, Inc., under the direction of Dr. Seymour Lieberman. Dr. Lieberman and his associates have been seeking to develop instruments and techniques for measuring the degree of aggression in children. They have also been engaged in applying their techniques to the investigation of the effects of different kinds and degrees of televised violence on aggressive tendencies in children.

The other research team is composed of Dr. Melvin Heller and Dr. Samuel Polsky. They have been studying the effects on various groups of young people, including "normal," "emotionally disturbed" and "socially deprived" children, as well as imprisoned youthful offenders, of controlled exposure to violent and nonviolent program materials.

The studies of Dr. Heller and Dr. Polsky have focused on the observation and measurement of real behavior, both past and present, of the groups under review.

In March of 1970, executives of ABC and our research consultants met with Dr. Eli Rubinstein, then heading the special staff within the National Institute of Mental Health participating in the Surgeon General's violence study. ABC's research consultants outlined the studies they intended to initiate to Dr. Rubenstein and members of his staff.

Dr. Rubinstein indicated his basic understanding of the studies being underwritten by ABC.

The results of the first year of study of ABC's research consultants were also transmitted to Dr. Rubenstein to keep him informed of the progress of our research.

The 2-year studies of Drs. Heller, Polsky and Lieberman will be completed, I understand now by June 1, and are regarded by ABC as the groundwork upon which to base future studies.

We shall make these and future studies available to the Surgeon General.

As I previously mentioned, the report to the Surgeon General does not provide definitive and conclusive answers as to what specific elements in television programs can be harmful to children, and how these effects can be avoided or negated.

The report, however, did indicate a number of the more important unanswered questions and did suggest the direction of future research. In this respect, the report was extremely helpful. ABC's future research efforts will include the unanswered questions indicated in the report to the Surgeon General, as well as other aspects recommended by our consultants.

In addition to our continuing original research into the effects of televised violence on younger viewers, we have retained Drs. Heller, Polsky and Lieberman as consultants to keep us advised of all new research findings and published materials germane to the subject of television portrayal of violence.

We will rely on these competent experts to interpret meaningful developments in this field, irrespective of source, and to assist us in designing plans for significant future research.

In the future, we also intend to consult with these experts before our entertainment schedule is finalized each season.

ABC's Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices, which reviews all entertainment programing throughout the various stages of development, plays an important role in our efforts to present programs devoid of harmful violence.

The editors of this department are responsible for applying the requirements of the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, as well as the standards and policies of the American Broadcasting Company, to all entertainment fare presented on the television network. The activities of this department in reviewing programing are described in considerable detail in the statement which I asked Mr. Schneider, the executive to whom the Broadcast Standards Department reports, to prepare for this hearing.

In the interest of conserving the subcommittee's time, I will merely submit his statement for the record.

I would, however, like to mention briefly a few highlights of Mr. Schneider's statement which have a particular bearing on this hearing.

This past June, as has been our practice in every year since June of 1968, we reminded our standards and practices editors and the producers of our entertainment series of our policy with respect to the portrayal of violence in television programs. This policy prohibits the use of violence for the sake of violence and dictates that special attention be given to encourage the de-emphasis of acts of violence.

To the best of our ability, members of the Standards and Practices Department endeavor throughout every phase of production—from script stage to final edit—to insure that ABC programs with an adventure orientation concentrate on the solution of crime and on the apprehension of those guilty of precipitating violence.

In programs of this type, by stressing the solution rather than the portrayal of the crime, we hope to combat disrespect for law and authority. We regard the "FBI" and "Mod Squad" series as excellent examples of this form of programing.

Programs in these series seek to reinforce affirmative values and portray law enforcement in a professional and positive light.

Additionally, following receipt of the first year interim report of one of our research teams, we directed that our standards and practices editors devote special attention to the avoidance of demonstrations of criminal techniques which could invite or assist imitation. Subsequently, our concern in this area was corroborated in the report to the Surgeon General.

As more research information becomes available in relation to televised violence, the subcommittee may be assured that it will be applied to our program development and our program content—particularly as directed to young people.

In summation, the findings of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee make it clear that broadcasters must be even more responsive to this problem. As I indicated previously ABC is taking the following actions, some of which are extensions of earlier determinations:

(1) By the fall of 1972, cartoon series which depend solely on "action" and are devoid of comedy will have been eliminated from the network's children's schedule.

(2) We are placing additional emphasis on resolving conflict in children's programs through non-violent means.

(3) The overall balance of the different types of programs in our schedule will be considered even more carefully in the future.

(4) When selecting the time periods in which new series will be scheduled in the future, greater emphasis will be focused on the possible adverse impact which the program's content might have on young viewers.

(5) ABC has budgeted $1 million over the next four years for an intensified program of original research in this area.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that this demonstrates that we are making a serious and an honest attempt to meet this problem. We will continue to do so.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to present my statement. We will also be most willing to work in concert with the FCC with our competitors, or whomever, in order to achieve the ends we are all seeking.

Senatore **Pastore**. Thank you very much.

I have no questions beyond this you say your consultants will give their report to the Surgeon General as to the scientific and technological data and that you expect to carry out the wish of Dean Burch. You will sit down with him at any time to discuss this matter, and it will be done on a friendly, capable basis.

Mr. **Rule**. We will indeed.

Senator **Pastore**. I have no questions beyond that, unless your assistants desire to say anything.

Mr. **Rule**. No. We have submitted Mr. Schneider's statement for the record.

Senator **Pastore**. Incidentally, do you have prescreening under the Code?

Mr. **Rule**. We prescreen the pilots.

And from the informational bulletin that is sent out, they can, if they wish, screen anything that they question.

Senator **Pastore**. You mean the affiliates?

Mr. **Rule**. No, I am talking about the Code Board. Both.

Senator **Pastore**. In other words, if the Code Authority desires to screen something——

Mr. **Rule**. Yes. We send out advisories before the fact to both our affiliates——

Senator **Pastore.** So you do get an independent screening, in a sense of the word. Although the Board consists of members designatd by the industry? That is true?

Mr. **Schneider.** It is the Code's authority, under the direction of Stockton Holltnich, who receives the APSA and it is his request we would honor at any time he wishes to see a program prior to broadcast, and he has done so on many occasions.

Senator **Pastore.** Mr. Baker?

Senator **Baker.** Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

May I say to begin with, that I am impressed with the presentation you made this morning, and with the job in general that ABC is doing, as you described it.

I am sure you could do even more, and we are grateful for the information you have produced today.

On previous occasions with other witnesses, I have asked for, I guess, close to the impossible, a definition of the term needless violence, especially as Chairman Burch used that term yesterday.

Could you give me your definition of needless violence and explain how you approach the problem of trying to quantify it?

Mr. **Rule.** I think we have established a definition for our purposes. Mr. Schneider?

Mr. **Schneider.** It is a very difficult one, Senator, as you have pointed out in the last couple of days in which I have been listening to your questions.

We try to define gratuitous or unnecessary violence as violence for the sake of violence, and try to define that somewhat further, that it is unnecessary, or that violence which is unrelated, which is unmotivated to the resolution of the story or the continuation of the plot.

I think our responsibility as reasonable men to review the material in terms of what would be considered reasonable and prudent violence in the dramatic context of the program.

Senator **Baker.** I asked the previous witness if he could give me some insight into how the ultimate decision was made on airing a program or a program format or program contents with respect to violence or with respect to material such as the X-rated or R-rated movie material.

Can you give me some further insight into how ABC makes that decision, that is whether or not it is made by the network president, by someone else, by a program advisor, on the basis of competition, economic considerations, or what?

Mr. **Rule.** Senator, it would be normally the decision or the responsibilities of the president of the network to decide whether a show or a program would run on the network.

In the event that there was a doubt in his mind, as possibly in one of the instances you mentioned, where it was a question of a rating or taste, then he would, it would be my responsibility, as the president of the company.

Senator **Baker.** What is your view, or the view of your company about the desirability, the workability of some sort of voluntary nongovernmental rating institution for films on TV, or for programs generally.

Mr. **Rule.** As I believe my predecessors addressed themselves to that, we certainly have no objection to the overall thought. I would like to know more of the mechanics before I said yes, we will submit to such a board.

But we would be quite willing to investigate, to discuss, in whatever forum, the possibility of such a move and would approach it with an open mind.

Senator BAKER. Do you have any X-rated or R-rated movies in your library, or in your contract obligations to acquire films for TV showing?

Mr. RULE. To my knowledge, we don't have any X-rated. But I am not quite sure as to whether there were R-rated.

Mr. Schneider, Would you like to address yourself to that?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, I would.

There have been some movies which have been telecast—the MPAA has changed their ratings over the last several years. At one time there were many movies, which were for mature audiences.

We did have several of those.

So far as the R-movies are concerned, we are considering several R-movies that have been presented to the network program department for consideration for the future.

Our editors, and I have looked at some of them and requested specific edits to be made of those R-movies, and have asked the program department to go back to the producer for resubmission to the MPAA for reclassification in terms of their judgment and whether or not our edits now would have removed that R-rating which has been placed on the picture prior to the time that we will broadcast it.

As you know, that is the same subjective judgment, where they have a board that reviews the films and if they feel the edits we have made would have made that picture presentable theatrically with a higher rating than the R, we will then accept it for telecast.

Senator BAKER. As far as you can recall, you have not run any R-rated movies, so far?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. No, we have not.

Senator BAKER. Would you be in a position to tell me now, if you do run the sanitized versions of R-movies, whether your publicity or news department would advertise them as R-movies?

Mr. RULE. I can answer that. No.

Senator BAKER. I thank you very much.

I think it would be appropriate to conclude this line of questioning by asking you one very general question, and that is whether or not you would agree with me that not only is this business of needless violence difficult to describe and quantify, but the whole relationship between violence and children, and violence and public policy vis-a-vis the networks and television broadcasting in general, is difficult to quantify, but that the very least we can say with certainty is that the Advisory Committee's report indicates that here is some causal connection and that it does call for some sort of remedial action?

Mr. RULE. I would say that describes the problem very well.

Senator BAKER. Thank you, sir.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

(The complete statement of Alfred R. Schneider follows.)

STATEMENT OF ALFRED SCHNEIDER, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of this Committee, my name is Alfred R. Schneider. I am a Vice President of the American Broadcasting Company. One of my responsibilities is to help formulate, and to implement, the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards in relation to the acceptability of program and commercial material scheduled for broadcast over our facilities. The American Broadcasting Company's Department of Standards and Practices reports to me.

In exercising its responsibility to the viewing public, the American Broadcasting Company's Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices follows a precise and detailed series of steps in its review of material presented over the ABC Television Network, to assure its conformity with the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters as well as with the policies of the American Broadcasting Company. Before outlining these steps for this Committee, I would like to make a few general observations. In reviewing the acceptability of material for broadcast, the editor brings to bear, in the exercise of his subjective judgment, an awareness not only of the provisions of the Code, but of the time in which he lives, and its relationship to an interpretation of the provisions he is applying.

We are living in a period of rapid change, giving rise to eruptive social forces, shifting standards of taste, conflict with our social mores and established principles, and an intense desire on the part of some groups and individuals to express their particular views. These basic changes are necessarily and properly reflected in an individual editor's evaluation of the entertainment fare he is asked to pass on.

With this general comment in mind, I would like to outline the steps taken by our editorial staff in New York and Los Angeles to review and screen material intended for broadcast over our television network, except for News, News Documentaries and Sports Events.

The Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices operates independently of the ABC Television Network so that there is, in effect, a system of "checks and balances" in determining the acceptability of program material. Thus, the ABC Television Network's Program Department's creative evaluations and considerations are kept wholly separate and apart from the question of its acceptability for broadcast.

Editors are trained and, when experienced and competent, are given the responsibility of applying the standards to each program scheduled for broadcast. Their's is the challenging work of reviewing and commenting on material in a manner which, on the one hand, will permit and encourage genuine, artistic, and literary treatment of significant and controversial subjects which may involve adult themes while, on the other hand, will preserve the integrity of such programs and will ensure that the treatment and presentation are made in good taste on the basis of dramatic values.

Each entertainment program is reviewed by an editor in the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices from the script stage through final production and editing. A report is prepared, often after discussion with colleagues and the supervisor in charge, indicating the acceptability of the script, or any appropriate revisions. This report is forwarded to the producer of the program. After discussion of any requested changes, revisions are submitted by the producer to the editor, who then issues an additional script review report. The editor next reviews a rough cut of the program which affords him the opportunity to request any necessary modifications prior to issuing a final report.

The activities of the Department involve a great deal of time, daily conferences and discussion sessions between the Broadcast Standards and Practices editor and the producer, both of whom are seeking an acceptable program. The goal is to preserve creativity while enforcing the Company's standards and policies.

Under current practice, each broadcast season, prior to the commencement of production of any new program series, the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards are reviewed with the producer of each program series and their staffs. Again this year, in late April or May, we will be meeting with the producers of each new program series to review the material to be produced for the on-coming season.

All matters relating to program acceptability are carefully discussed and reviewed in detail. Where a particular series is expected to include portrayals of violence, extensive discussions, involving our Director of Broadcast Standards and Practices, the Director of Broadcast Standards and Practices, West Coast Division, the editor assigned to the particular program series, and me, are held with the producer to ascertain the manner in which the producer intends to relate conflict to plot development and to insure that the producer fully understands our policies and standards in this regard.

In addition to the Broadcast Standards and Practices' procedures described above, station management at all our affiliated stations, including our owned television stations, is provided with detailed information about each program prior to broadcast. Briefly, these procedures consist of the following:

(a) An advanced program advisory—a detailed written report of the content of each regularly scheduled prime time entertainment and special program—is prepared by an ABC program executive from the rough cut of each program. Subject to limitations of program deadlines, these reports are mailed to each station manager seven to ten days before airtime. A duplicate report is furnished to the NAB Code Authority.

(b) Regular program previews are scheduled, via closed circuit, for our affiliated television stations located across the country. We use available closed circuit time—approximately 8–10 hours a week at the present time—to preview, on a rotating basis, programs in our nighttime schedule. Stations are advised in advance of the closed circuit schedule for a given month. Local station management has the prerogative of viewing these ABC programs prior to telecast either with their associates, or with anyone else they may wish to have present. In this fashion, our affiliates have an opportunity to review for themselves, the acceptability or non-acceptability of such program material prior to telecast.

(c) At annual meetings held for the management of our primary affiliated stations, program plans for the new season, beginning the following September, are presented. Affiliate management reaction to our program plans is considered and we solicit suggestions for future programming at these meetings.

The procedures which I outlined above have been our regular practice over the years.

Since March of 1969, when the Sub-Committee on Communications last held hearings on the subject of televised violence, we have been actively seeking additional information which would permit us to refine the standards and criteria we apply in reviewing material intended for telecast. This past June we once again reminded both our editors and television producers of our policy concerning the portrayal of violence in television programs. Originally issued in June of 1968, the policy states:

"You are, of course, aware of the Company's long standing policy regarding that, in carrying out your duties in reviewing scripts, rough cuts and final prints for air, you should prohibit the use of violence for the sake of violence. While a story-line or plot development may call for the use of force—the amount, manner of portrayal and necessity for same should be commensurate with a standard of reasonableness and with due regard for the principle that violence, or the use of force, as an appropriate means to an end, is not to be emulated."

As the members of this Subcommittee are aware, in March of 1969, the ABC Television Network agreed to provide advance descriptive program information to the NAB Code Authority and to accord the Director of the NAB Code Authority the privilege of requesting screenings of programs prior to broadcast should he have any questions with respect to any of the material contained in the Advance Program Advisory. We have had the occasional opportunity to do so. In addition, in each year since 1969, we have prescreened the pilot program, where one exists, of every series to be included in the following year's schedule for the Code Authority Director and/or one of his representatives. After the screening, the pilot program and the anticipated direction of the series are discussed generally. The thoughts and recommendations of the NAB representative are subsequently discussed with the Standards and Practices editor in charge of the program as well as with the program producer.

In late February of 1970, Doctors Heller and Polsky and Doctor Lieberman were engaged as independent outside consultants to conduct specific research programs. In addition, several ABC executives and Doctors Heller, Polsky and Lieberman met with Dr. Eli Rubenstein, Assistant Director for the Extramural Programs and Behavioral Sciences of the National Institute of Mental Health, to inform him of the original research that was being sponsored by ABC.

In April of 1971, a reprint from the Archive of General Psychiatry of Doctors Heller and Polsky's article entitled, "Television Violence: Guidelines for Evaluation", was circulated among ABC Standards and Practices editors. These guidelines were discussed with Broadcast Standards editors, as well as with the producers and executives of the production companies preparing entertainment programs for ABC. Specifically, they were informed that the emphasis should be placed upon the consequences resulting from an act of violence and that Doctors Heller and Polsky had expressed concern over the dehumanization factor in the portrayal of violence. These matters are also referred to in the report to the Surgeon General as subjects that ought to require the attention of those producing programs which contain violence.

Following the receipt of our first year interim report by Doctors Heller and Polsky on Television Violence and Children, and Doctor Lieberman, we circulated these interim reports to our editors for their guidance. We also made them available to producers of programs on ABC. The interim reports of our research consultants were with producers in our May 1971 meetings, prior to the production of programs for the 1971–72 season. We directed that special attention should be given in the review of materials containing portrayals of violence to that guideline which relates specifically to the imitation of acts of violence. We suggested caution be exercised in avoiding close-ups and demonstrations of criminal techniques that invite imitation.

In July of 1971 we again, along with our independent consultants, visited with Doctor Eli Rubenstein and briefed him on our interim report, seeking suggestions and maintaining a flow of information between our consultants and the Committee.

It has been, and continues to be, ABC's policy to emphasize justice in the American system of law enforcement and the maintenance of order, the solution of crimes and the apprehension of criminals. We also seek to de-emphasize acts of violence.

The depiction of violence in situations of dramatic conflict for the expression of human conflict, hostility, anger, frustration or for the portrayal of enforcement of law and order, is an appropriate subject for dramatic development. Television, no less than any other media, or art form, should be capable of dealing realistically with social and human conflicts, and, in our opinion, it is the manner in which we present and treat these subjects that is significant.

In conclusion I would like to reassure this Committee that every effort is being made and will continue to be made not only to insure that it is not the portrayal of useless excessive force for its own sake or violence that is included merely to attract an audience, but moreover as has been stated by Mr. Rule, we will continue working with our independent research consultants to seek to refine our guidelines so as to reduce the likelihood that predisposed children will react adversely to televised violence. In those programs that do contain violence as a legitimate adjunct of plot development, the dramatic treatment should not be exaggerated or prolonged. We hope that we will be successful in limiting the portrayal of acts of violence to those instances where they are a natural and logical part of the story and where they advance dramatic development.

This Committee may be assured that we are concerned . . . and expect to do our best to fulfill our responsibilities as broadcasters.

I thank you for this opportunity to appear before you and express the views of the American Broadcasting Company.

Senator PASTORE. Mr. Wasilewski. We are very happy to have you here today. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF VINCENT WASILEWSKI, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, my name is Vincent T. Wasilewski. I am President of the National Association of Broadcasters, which is an association whose membership comprises a majority of the Nation's radio and television stations and all networks.

I believe the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior should be complimented for an extensive study in a relatively short period of time. The massiveness of the report and the carefully stated conclusions are testimony that the committee sought to do both a thorough and responsible job.

The report provides an assemblage of data and balanced perspective about a complicated and emotional subject about which little reliable information has hitherto been available. It appears that the crux of the report to the Surgeon General is summed up in the folowing excerpts from pages 18–19 of the summary:

> First, there is eveidence that any sequence by which viewing television violence causes aggressive behavior is most likely applicable only to some children who are predisposed in that direction. . . .
>
> Second, there are suggestions in boths sets of studies that the way children respond to violent film material is affected by the context in which it is presented Such elements as parental explanations, the favorable or unfavorable outcome of the violence, and whether it is seen as fantasy or reality may make a difference. Generalizations about all violent content are likely to be misleading.
>
> Thus, the two sets of findings converge in three respects: a preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior; an indication that any such causal relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive); and an indication that it operates only in some environmental contexts. Such tentative and limited conclusions are not very satisfying. They represent substantially more knowledge than we had two years ago, but they leave many questions unanswered. . . ."

Our own most recent research, just completed by Prof. William Wells of the University of Chicago, also suggests that some children may, in some circumstances, be adversely affected by viewing television programs containing violence.

In any case, even if the great majority of our children are unaffected by television violence, and even if only a small fraction are negatively affected, we recognize the need to determine how the negative effects can be alleviated.

The broadcast industry's self-regulatory effort has directed special attention to responsible and realistic reflections of human conflict. In real life such conflicts demonstrably exist and clearly do often spill over into violence. A premise of broadcast self-regulation is that violence should be reasonably restrained as to degree and featured in contexts which justify its validity.

The selection and scheduling of programs and the handling of their content are determined by broadcasters themselves. The broadcasting networks additionally pursue through the NAB Code authority—which they along with 402 television stations support financially—a program liaison agreement involving a monitoring procedure. This activity comprises an on-air monitoring of selected programs to review handling of content.

Our increased monitoring efforts began three and one-half years ago; and during that period the personnel of the Code authority's three offices in Los Angeles, New York and Washington have monitored a total of some 2,278 programs offered by the ABC, CBS and NBC networks.

Formal monitoring reports filed with the Code authority director cover such matters as responsible treatment of crime and its techniques, violence and the consequences thereof, and retribution, as well as responsible treatments of racial considerations, morality, safety, prejudice and the like.

Senator **Pastore**. Mr. Wasilewski, is this monitoring a prereview of a program?

Mr. Wasilewski. No, sir, it is not, I am referring to on-the-air monitoring as it appears on the network.

Senator Pastore. As it appears?

Mr. Wasilewski. Yes, sir, this particular aspect. We have had, as two of the networks indicated, some prescreening of pilots.

Senator Pastore. But CBS does not subscribe to that, does it?

Mr. Wasilewski. They, as I understand it, will show it to their affiliates, which is a prescreening, but not to the Code authority.

Senator Pastore. But ABC and NBC do?

Mr. Wasilewski. Yes, sir.

Senator Pastore. I see.

Mr. Wasilewski. Two of the networks have a prior-screening arrangement with the Code authority. Prescreening is conducted when requested by either network or the Code authority and is confined primarily to new entries in the program schedule lineup.

In addition, during the period from October 1968 through October 1970 the three television networks and the Code authority jointly funded a consultative arrangement with Melvin S. Heller, M.D., and Samuel Polsky, Ph.D., from Temple University, Unit in Law and Psychiatry, Philadelphia. The purpose of this consultancy was to seek assistance from the psychiatric field with respect to the Code authority's monitoring process.

The Code authority's monitoring findings were appraised by the two specialists from Temple. Additionally they helped not only to further codify and strengthen network editing criteria, but also pinpointed factors to be considered in the treatment of violence in programs directed to adults as well as those directed to children.

The work of Professors Heller and Polsky was presented in the March 1971 issue of the Archives of General Psychiatry under the title "Television Violence, Guidelines for Evaluation." It presents an analysis of types, characteristics and presentation of violence on television; examines possible effects on the individual personality of the viewer, particularly the child; and offers suggestions for evaluating television violence on the basis of its emotional impact.

The recommendations of Professors Heller and Polsky direct network and Code authority attention to the context in which valid reflections of violence are presented, especially with respect to the consequences of violence and to the avoidance of dehumanizing of individuals. The recommendations also cover the modifying uses of fantasy and humor.

The findings of Drs. Heller and Polsky parallel those of earlier witnesses during the past two days, and point out possible avenues for further research and testing. They also make possible a continuing application and refinement of approaches that might be utilized by broadcast decision makers in the area of content.

The creators and schedulers of programs have a particular responsibility to take a harder than ever look at the manner in which violence is presented. Violence which could reasonably be argued as excessive or gratuitous can and must be avoided.

We are all in agreement, I believe, that resolution of this serious problem is the responsibility of the broadcasting industry. The alternative is deep government regulation of television programing, and we regard this as dangerous and unwise. Therefore we—through the Code authority—are now examining in detail the wording of all of our Television Code's programing standards.

Additionally, I have asked our Television Code authority and review board as a high priority matter to undertake a detailed study of the report to the Surgeon General in cooperation with the NAB research department. They are being instructed to draw upon such outside counsel as they may require for the purposes of developing recommendations to the industry as to how the results of this report may be implemented.

I feel confident of total industry support.

Senator Pastore. Thank you very much for a good statement. Of course it is true that when you are in such a complex and complicated area as attitudes of a human mind, and what a scene or an incident does to the behavior of an individual, you are in a highly technical and scientific field. Sometimes you cannot get an exact, precise answer. But a very significant statement was made by the Surgeon General that I think takes this out of the clouds and brings it down to earth. When he said there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action and that time has come.

Do you agree with that statement?

Mr. Wasilewski. I would agree with that statement because I am convinced now that there is a sufficient amount of data to indicate a causal relationship between some children and some violence on television.

Senator Pastore. I will tell you frankly you represent the group that in the final analysis has the most to lose; you represent those who are granted a license; and you know what the development has been lately since the WHDH case. I am telling you frankly unless the industry takes hold of this and does what needs to be done the only possible result is going to be an aroused citizenry.

I realize that there are some people who possibly do not care, but there are a lot of people who do care, and we hear them constantly. Tomorrow we will have before this Committee members of the public who will testify and who have been disturbed over this for years.

What I am trying to say to you, Mr. Wasilewski, is this. We did not invent this. The reason why this Committee requested this Study in the first place, and the reason why we have held hearings right along is because of the complaints that have been made to us. Made to us by mothers in many, many instances, and by people who are aroused and concerned about what has been going on.

I will be frank and honest with you and say that since we began way, way back in the '50s we have made some improvement. But this is a recent study, and like you say, a causal effect has been shown.

I think myself that the Advisory Committee Report can be characterized as being a very cautious and conservative one only because they had to achieve, as I said before, a consensus report. It was explained by the members who appeared before this Committee that there was a lot of hassling going on before they reached a consensus.

We heard several distinguished experts who had conducted research in this area and who participated in the research that was contracted out by the Surgeon General. In a particular study the researchers took a stronger view, a much stronger view, and were very much disappointed and surprised and in some cases rather peeved at the fact that their report and their findings had been played down. But I suppose to get these members of the committee to agree on something unanimously you do have to strike a compromise.

I speak especially of Dr. Liebert who came before this committee; and I speak also of Dr. Lefkowitz who came before this committee and who had conducted some intense and very deep and exhaustive studies in this area. They were complimented on their competency by Dr. Eli Rubenstein.

All I say to you is that I hope that the word goes back that there is something wrong that needs to be rectified and the sooner the better. I do not think in the process we are going to deny the American public quality entertainment. As I have said time and time again no one is talking here about an absolute elimination of violence, nobody is talking about that. What we are talking about is violence for the sake of violence: Violence that is made purposefully gory and violence that is abusive and excessive.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I was fortunate enough to hear about 96 percent of this hearing, I imagine, on the radio. I would like to put myself in the posture of you on that first day, I think, when you said you realized that television is not the sole factor nor perhaps the principal factor of violence in our life, but you are conducting these hearings because this is your area of jurisdiction. But I would hope, sir, that whatever comes out of this we don't focus solely on television programing and think that that will be the solution of violence in this country of ours.

Senator PASTORE. That is right. But broadcasters are in the most lucrative business in the world. They are given a license that can only be given to a few. With the exception of a few small stations anyone who gets a license to operate a television station puts his hands on the pot of gold.

Mr. Baker.

Senator BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You made reference to the report and findings by Drs. Heller and Polsky in your statement. I wonder if you would have an objection to including that report as a part of this record.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. No, Senator. I have copies and I will be glad to supply it.

Senator BAKER. Is that agreeable to the chairman, that we receive that report as a part of the record?

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Senator BAKER. I think by and large you have done a good job and you have been a part of the dialog that has developed in the course of these hearings. You may be involved by implication in other parts of the testimony that has been received in the course of the hearings. But in all fairness I must say on occasion we hear criticisms of NAB to the effect that they really have ideals and ambitions but they don't really do anything. I hear criticisms that it cannot be truly effective because it makes only restraining gestures, it can take no punitive measures, and all broadcasters do not belong to the NAB.

I believe you have done a remarkable job and those criticisms are not well taken in their entirety. But I would appreciate hearing any rejoinder you would care to make.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Only 402 television stations subscribe to the Code, plus the three networks. I do believe most sincerely that the effect of the Code's apparatus, its structure and its restrictions apply much beyond those 402 television stations and much beyond the three networks. As a witness to that is the thing mentioned the other day, the restriction we have relative to hard liquor we have as a small restriction. There is no reason that the other 275 stations in the country should rely upon the Code strictures against advertising of hard liquor, but they do.

Similarly, those programing standards that are developed in conjunction with the networks basically have an effect throughout the industry because in the final analysis most stations throughout the country will be using that programing.

As to the enforcement factor, it is true that we do not have much of what you would call in the way of power, power per se. Our power is limited to withdrawing the Code seal from stations. However, if you have an ongoing and a good operation I do not think you need much in the way of power to enforce the Code because you get it through the peer group, you get it through such men as you and Senator Pastore and yet get it from a lifted eyebrow from the public.

Senator BAKER. Do you think that is sufficient power or sufficient prestige, as the case may be, to carry you into the next era and serve you effectively in trying to monitor the performance of children's program's and the violent content that we want to monitor?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. I do not think it would make much difference how much power we had unless we had the totality of industry cooperativeness going along with this. So my response to your question would be that I do not think we need much in the way of punitive power in the sense of granting or levying fines or doing other such things.

Senator BAKER. Do you think you need any more staff?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. I think in any operation you can always use more staff, yes, sir. I think we would need more staff to continue expanding our area of activity.

Senator BAKER. There has been a good bit of testimony about the possibility of a nongovernmental, unofficial rating board for TV programing. In a way NAB is that. They do not give ratings per se, but they express approval or disapproval of the program contents and format.

Do you have any further comment on the desirability of such a rating bureau and any idea of whether or not NAB could serve in that function?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Are you talking about a rating bureau as related to violence? Or is that something broader?

Senator BAKER. I am talking about TV broadcasting, but it came up in the context of children's programing and violence. But it also would relate, to the questions I put to a number of witnesses about X-rated movies, for instance.

We have seen the movie industry do a voluntary program on rating and I do not suggest an exact similarity. But what I am asking you to do is to comment on the general concept described by other witnesses.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Obviously I have thought about it because it has been propounded in the past and during the course of these hearings, and I have not reached any firm conclusion in my own mind. For example, I would have a question if you rated on a scale zero to ten for violence, I as a parent know in my own home that the censoring of programs that I personally have done with my children have not nearly been as much in the area of violence as they have in other areas, either in the sexual connotations or in the area of a message being given that I did not want the children to be given.

So I think there are tremendous problems. Plus the fact if 10 is the most violent on the scale, I think that compounds the problem of parents greatly, very frankly.

Senator BAKER. Thank you very much.

Does NAB have any position on sanitized X-rated movies?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. No, we have not taken a position on sanitized X-rated movies. I would say that this has to be a matter for the individual licensee to determine and if you have a sanitized X-rated movie I think it can be fare that could be put into the home, but as Mr. Schneider said, it may not be good entertainment.

In other words, I think you can sanitize almost anything.

Senator BAKER. It is up to the affiliate to decide, but the affiliate did not originate it. It is not quite the same thing.

I will not go into that any further. I think you have given us useful and valuable testimony and I believe you have done a good job. Your organization has been very helpful to the industry.

Thank you very much.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Thank you, sir.

(The article referred to follows:)

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Television Violence

Guidelines for Evaluation

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An analysis is presented of types, characteristics, and presentation of violence on television. Possible effects on the individual personality of the viewer, particularly the child, are discussed. Suggestions are given for evaluating television violence on the basis of its emotional impact rather than on changing social mores.

NATIONAL concern over certain kinds and amounts of mass media portrayal of violence has reached the levels of congressional (eg, Senator Pastore's Subcommittee on Communications and the Senate Committee on the judiciary[1]) and presidential[2] inquiry. In such circumstances psychiatric opinion is often solicited by various community factions, each seeking to bolster its own views with those of selected experts in behavioral science. In this manner, a particular study of violent comic books can be cited to report no significant difference in aggressiveness between boys with a high interest in such fare and those with a low interest.[3] Similarly, a study in England, using television materials, indicates comparable findings for viewers and nonviewers.[4] On the contrary, several experimental studies can be cited to suggest an increased probability of aggressive behavior soon after a viewing of it.[5-7]

The temptation to respond with an off-the-cuff opinion, although understandable, often exceeds the psychiatrist's specific expertise. Yet, no discipline or specialty is generally better equipped to offer comment on this continuing debate. This has motivated us to provide our colleagues with what we hope is a timely review of some pertinent issues, a brief look at oft-quoted television studies, and a present consideration of some of the issues and dynamics of the conflict regarding television violence.

Part of this work has served to provide initial suggested guidelines for the editing of violent television materials prepared for the Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters in the course of consulting with that agency.

Some Characteristics of Commercial Television

The viewing fare of commercial television is ultimately determined by economic factors. The major networks may be viewed as three electronic billboards whose changing contents compete for audience attention and advertising dollars. Commerical television is turned to by most viewers in an attempt to gratify widespread needs for diversion or passive entertainment. In this respect, the viewer may select programs which are either stimulating or soporific depending upon his mood or need at the particular time. Some children's programs may perform a baby-sitting function for mothers—with certain serialized characters serving as electronically tuned-in members of the child's "extended family."

Commercial television also functions, directly or even incidentally, as an educational and documentary medium, and on occasion has brought audiences unique experiences in both documentary reporting and theater.

All of these kinds of program possibilities compete with each other on the basis of attention-getting and attention-holding. The greatest prize goes to that program or series of programs which can capture and hold the largest audience.

In terms of attention-getting material, there is little question that the two most arresting acts which television could portray would literally be murder and sexual intercourse. Until the most recent film and off-Broadway season, nude sex has been relatively secret fare for theater audiences. Since television programs have been prohibited from capturing audiences through nudity, violence in its various forms has been the manifest alternative or available means to attract viewers.

Our culturally determined substitution of violence for sexuality is a prominent part of the training of children with respect to instinctual expression. Theoretically, it would be possible to demonstrate that there exists an inverse relationship between the amount of manifest sexuality on the one hand and manifest hostility or violence on the other, which a particular culture allows in its citizen's daily activities or legitimate viewing entertainment.[8]

In contrast to a number of other entertainment media, the television industry must concern itself with audiences which vary widely in age, intelligence, literacy, interest, and sociocultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the emotional stability and ego strength of the audience must be taken into account in assessing the impact of any given violent episode on the audience. It has been suggested that children who like radio crime and adventure programs have shown more aggression in behavior, and also lower intelligence quotients, lower scholastic achievement, and lower scores in general happiness and in personal and social adjustment.[9] Similar results have been reported with reference to television, movies, and comic books.[10] With any 3-year old capable of flicking on the family set, there is no guarantee that persons under 21 will be refused "admission," or allowed to watch only if accompanied by an adult. In this respect it is a

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matter of fact and concern that television has increasingly replaced parents as a definitive adult voice and national shaper of views.

Digestible vs Noxious Violence

In examing violence as it is portrayed in the mass media, we have found it to be helpful to differentiate between so-called digestible violence on the one hand, and "indigestible" or noxious violence on the other. We refer here to violence as a conscious act that results in damage to a libidinally invested or valued object perceived in human terms. The term aggression has not been used because it tends to be more readily misused and confused. The term aggression has been characterized to mean "almost anything from hostility to the vigor with which either constructive or destructive acts are carried out."[11] It has also been defined as behavior "motivated by the wish to injure, remove or destroy a threatening object,"[12] and elsewhere taken to mean "the initiating of an attack" in a context of fighting.[13]

Digestible violence is relatively responsive to the realities of the environment, whereas noxious violence tends to be portrayed as bizarre, sexually tinged, or frankly sadistic. In order to further differentiate the effects of violence on the varying viewers of television we specify that noxious violence raises and maintains tension on a relatively high and slowly diminishing curve analogous to the glucose tolerance response of a diabetic. Digestible or assimilable violence, on the other hand, is associated with tension which is swiftly reduced, relieved, or resolved. We have avoided the term "cathartic violence" and have preferred the concept of digestible violence for several reasons. A piece of behavior may be digestible or assimilable whether or not it is cathartic. Furthermore, the literature on cathartic violence is in conflict. Some studies seem to support the thesis of catharsis,[14] while other studies seem to refute this concept of catharsis.[15,16]

Not all violence is noxious or harmful. Most themes or varieties of violent program material can be classified under the general heading of criminal, epic-patriotic, or athletic. A lively audience interest in each of these areas (murder mysteries, adventure and war scenes, or violent athletic events, respectively) is seen in the program popularity of professional football, for example, as well as in war films, westerns, and detective dramas.

Nor is all violence that is labeled harmful actually harmful in meaningful human terms. In certain well-known studies, for example, the objects of violence are inanimate rather than human, involving Bobo dolls,[17] mechanical toys, wooden balls in cages,[6] or even the bursting of toy balloons.[18] It is perhaps noteworthy that in those studies in which a human target was supplied, the reported behavior showed little change from the usual behavior of a child.[19]

Violent television material may have a different effect not only on the child or immature viewer in comparison with the mature one, but also on the child of a broken home in contrast to the child living in an intact home, who has available to him the love and support of both parents, and the acceptance of his peers. It has been demonstrated, for example, that elementary-school children who enjoyed good peer relationships were less attracted to violent programs than children who were not accepted by their peers.[20]

One may inquire as well into the different effects of program material on children of affluent versus children of ghetto homes, as well as on adults from each of these populations. The difference in emotional reaction to similar pieces of programming can also be significant in persons of varying ethnic or racial types who tend to identify with victims or aggressors of their own background.

Regulation and Censorship

External regulation and censorship, in the American tradition, seem to be neither popular nor desirable substitutes for good taste and responsible programming. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to point out that functional censorship exists on every level of behavior, and is an innate part of man's biological equipment. On the biological level, noxious material is avoided by aversion, disgust, even fainting if the stimuli are sufficiently abhorrent to a given individual. Psychologically, censorship is maintained by a number of mechanisms including repression, forgetting, and the distortion of dreams.

Censorship on the level of community or group behavior is seen even in primitive cultures whose tribal mores specifically suppress thoughts or beliefs which are deemed dangerous to the interest of the group. Government censorship or control follows when ordinary social process fails, or is believed to have failed, to meet a real or imagined danger.

During waves of general social disorder and upheaval, there is increased apprehension of danger that extends to all shores of the social order, particularly new areas, such as electronic mass media, whose potential is relatively unknown, and whose content contains explicit scenes of violence.

A Responsible Approach

Former FCC Commissioner Newton Minow has challenged the television industry by stating that it is not enough to cater to the nation's whims, but that it also is essential to serve the nation's needs. In an age when research has not yet produced sufficient applicable answers, and in a society whose experts relate insufficiently to each other, how are the nation's needs to be determined?

One approach is to catalogue our social ills, and condemn all contributors, real and imagined. But not even the most constant critic of television suggests that it is responsible for all social ills. In consequence, even such a critic can only give fuzzy answers to the hard question of how to modify this powerful element in entertainment, without doing equal damage to the useful functions it serves.

If frustrating the public whim or need is not the answer, what is? All that can reasonably be required is that which can reasonably be done, anything less is irresponsible.

A responsible approach at this juncture would have the following features: (1) An initial identification of that which is presumed to be potentially noxious in its effects, coupled with an attendant identification of modifiers or "detoxifiers" of such material. The latter is the more difficult task because it is always easier to condemn than to correct. (2) Articulation of these control elements or modifiers in such manner that they can be understood and applied. This requires unification of current and often subjective standards being applied by the industry. The goal is revision elaboration, application, and an on-going testing of applicability rather than instant revelation of higher commandments. (3) The on-going testing in daily use and the continued refinement of codified concepts and guidelines over a period of time constitutes the final essential ingredient of a responsible approach.

All of this requires continuing effort in the application of the guidelines within the industry, and liaison with behavioral science consultants whose expertise can be sought to help identify the elements of control, and to aid in sharpening and refining broadcast guidelines, again and again, in order to achieve an ever more workable end product.

Two General Modifiers: Humor and Fantasy

The interjection of humorous materials is a well-know device to modulate rapidly mounting tension in dramatic story plots. Examples of this are found in literature from Shakespeare to James Bond.

Fantasy is similarly used as a protecting or reassuring vehicle in the presentation of otherwise frightening stories to children. Quite chilling events of certain fairy stories are rendered acceptable to the child's emotions because they are portrayed as belonging to the "land of make-believe." This factor of remoteness from current reality (as in ancient historical or biblical episodes) is utilized in certain violent modern dramas (again James Bond) in order to remind the viewer that we are really "making believe" or stretching the point.

Both children and adults have a varying affinity to fantasy, which may serve as a comforting, temporary alternative to the pressing need for real solutions to frustrations of everyday living. In this connection, it has been suggested by Schramm et al[21] that frustration is a significant factor which impels certain children toward fantasy. While television viewing habits may shape fantasies, some studies have suggested that the child's own fantasies determine his viewing habits rather than vice versa.[22,23] We submit that fantasy and humor are general modifiers of relevant concern in the assessment or rating of television violence.

Additional Factors in Rating Episodes of Television Violence

The following additional factors by themselves do not constitute specific, litmus-like tests of acceptable or unacceptable violence. They are identified rather as an initial framework for the construction of a practical uniform checklist of rating factors which would have a cumulative effect. As concepts which can be standardized, and to some extent quantified, such variables can be developed to assist the television industry's monitors and editors to communicate their concerns, criticisms, or viewpoints in more objective fashion to their colleagues. These further variables are presented alphabetically.

Apparent Authenticity.—Television material which is presented in a highly realistic fashion may impress the gullible or immature viewer as an "authentic" representation of reality. In contrast to fantasy, which reminds the viewer of the "make-believe" quality of material, a high degree of apparent authenticity enhances the disturbing effect of violence, particularly for the immature viewer.

Apparent authenticity is enhanced by realistic settings, by the use of certain props, costuming, or dialogue, and particularly by the manner in which the role is portrayed by the actor. By the interpretation he gives his role, a skilled actor, or director, can achieve an even greater effect than trappings, settings, or props.

Apparent authenticity is a powerful device for the writer or director who seeks to increase excitement or thrill by creating a feeling of involvement on the part of the viewer, or the feeling that "you are there." Television writers, directors, and actors often seem determined to make their material as realistic as possible to "sock" the viewer with a feeling that he is "right there in the middle of things." Armed with today's technical improvements in electronic and optical equipment, the dramatic storyteller can achieve unprecedented "new heights" in authenticity, immediacy, and emotional impact.

The development of those ego functions which perceive and deal with reality can be adversely affected during infancy by a lack of maternal monitoring and attention. In homes with such infants television representations of objects are more constant and intimate companions than parents or regular adult baby-sitters. The very young child's position in front of the television screen is that of eye witness not only to fantasies and cartoons, but to newscasts of crime, explosions, and violent recordings of war at a time when the child does not know how far from his own bedroom Vietnam for example, really is.

It should be remembered throughout that what is "authentic" for one segment of the viewing audience might be laughably unrealistic for another. It may further be noted that where an episode is realistic, it can serve as a reinforcement of social learning, including whether or not violence is imitated. Thus, where violence has been rewarded in the model presented, imitation has been reported as high, and where it was punished, imitation was reported as low.[24]

Selma Fraiberg[25] points out that society acts largely in its day-to-day affairs as though atomic, ecologic, and population dangers are somehow remote and unreal. She postulates that society simply cannot function under the high level of apprehension and distress that would accompany an incessant reminder of its very real and possibly momentary threat of extinction. Fraiberg notes that society generally faces this danger of extinction passively, and that it is "addicted" to collective daydreams of violence. These fantasies are given expression in certain television or cinema material.

Bizarreness.—Bizarreness can heighten the tension of violent television material if it is realistic. On the other hand, by underlining the implausibility of an otherwise frightening episode, bizarreness may, in some cases, diminish tension. In the presence of humor, as in the "Addams Family" series, bizarreness may have an ameliorating effect on otherwise anxiety-producing material. When bizarreness contributes to an incredible, fantastic, or unreal effect, it is actually tension-reducing.

Familiarity breeds contempt, and the child who plays with, manipulates, and controls ghouls and dinosaurs in toys and television programs is less afraid of the prospect of being overwhelmed by one in real life. In like manner, by making idols, man has long controlled his gods and rendered them less fearsome.

Although fairy tales are frequently bizarre, violent, and frightening, the impact of the fairy tale is markedly diminished by the extent to which the viewer or listener is reminded that it is only "make-believe." As long as this psychological "agreement" exists between the storyteller on the one hand, and the child reader or viewer on the other, violent fairy tale material literally gets away with murder. If such stories were presented to children as realistic, plausible, traumatic fare, the results could be nightmarish.

Bondage.—While bondage is essential to many plot situations in which the victim is immobilized, tied up, or captured, bondage dwelt upon needlessly may serve as a vehicle for sadistic sexual impulses.

The intimate portrayal in bondage of an attractive female or helpless child is a common component of pornography.[26] Here the quantity and quality of representation is needed to evaluate the impact of such a turn of affairs.

Bondage is also an all too frequent ingredient of childhood games of cops and robbers or cowboys and Indians. Indeed, the watchful parent of a 6-year-old needs to remind himelf to make sure that his child is not neatly tied to a neighbor's tree when he is late for lunch. Bondage is a very complex and pervasive unconscious preoccupation in which the need to achieve belated mastery over childhood restraints may even date back to engrams of prenatal uterine captivity. The motor progress of infancy proceeds along a line of diminishing restrictions and restraints from the bassinet to the playpen, the classroom, and the lengthening adult umbilical restrictions of food and oxygen supply. Until this very decade man has not succeeded in breaking free from the bonds or bondage of his gravitational and atmospheric captivity beyond a few miles of the earth's surface. Consider also the experiences in which youngsters are sent "captive" to their own bedrooms, banished early for punishment, and routinely at bedtime as a matter of nightly course. When he emerges too often for a glass of water, he is threatened with more violent kinds of verbal or physical sanctions.

In the mind of the immature viewer, the danger of bondage include not only torture but starvation. The fear of being neglected, abandoned, or forgotten in a television dungeon awakens primitive infantile fears of complete helplessness and abandonment.

Bondage need not, however, constitute unacceptable television plot material. Consider, for example, the now numerous cartoons or silent movie plots in which the heroine is tied to the railroad tracks by the villain, and snatched from her impending decapitation at the last minute by the handsome hero.

When the ropes of villainous restraint respond to Popeye's can of spinach, the breaking out of bondage is experienced as a pleasurable triumph to the child viewer. When this same bondage is presented in a realistic fashion, indigestible, nightmare-producing terrors may follow.

Conditioning or Inuring.—Conditioning or inuring both the child and adult viewer to violence has constituted a repeated criticism of television programming. It is most difficult to set up controlled, long-term experiments that could demonstrate adequately the cumulative or conditioning effect of violence over a period of years. Certainly a constant diet of adventitious violence on television would not be consistent with the ideals of a society which censures the taking of lives as a handy or ready "solution" to daily interpersonal conflicts. Television violence as a model for actual community violence would appear to be increasingly influential when fictional television material provides, in repetitious fashion, seemingly authentic and "everyday" examples of solutions to conflicts in interpersonal relationships.

Consequences.—An adequate presentation of the human consequences of violence is perhaps the most important safeguard in the responsible programming of television violence. The meaningful portrayal of the consequences of violence (rather than a dutiful acknowledgment that the criminal is eventually caught and punished) carries with it a lesson in compassion. It has been suggested that even filmed punishment reinforces real-life prohibitions in young children[27] and in older children,[28] and that an ethical ending, while it may not erase violence, may nonetheless act as a suppressor of violence.[29] Violence can be responsibly portrayed to the extent to which its consequences are portrayed in depth, with sensitivity.

The classic western story character of the stranger who rides into the small town and is gunned down, whose body is then disposed of, unclaimed by any relative or friend, presents this "bad man" as a piece of dehumanized garbage or refuse who lived like a dog and died like one. The same violent gunning becomes meaningful, and perhaps even a desirable recounting of the tragedy of loneliness, if the audience is enabled to see the way in which the character of the "bad man" developed, or something of his former relationships with family or friends. (Even a corpse can be shown in human terms when there is a sense of loss, just as in a few lines of poetry John Donne can make us feel we know "for whom the bell tolls.")

When the consequences of violence are sufficiently elaborated in television stories, some emotional reeducation may be accomplished by the presentation of exciting, attention-getting material which now becomes significant theater in providing for the dramatic catharsis of a meaningful human experience and emotion. Conversely, we would postulate that violence is objectionable when it is presented in a gratuitous fashion or as reinforcing background "noise" to the daily frustrations and conflicts of human living as experienced by the viewers of television. Significant television drama could provide an emotionally educative experience in portraying even violent murder in a story which demonstrates sufficiently the terrible loss suffered by the surviving family, dependents, or loved ones. It is quite a different and destructive practice to represent murder, especially to children, as little more than the mechanical production of cadavers or the dispatching of "bad guys" who somehow deserved to be "liquidated.")

For television to pursue responsible educational and entertainment functions, children exposed to fictional violence must be taught to view with horror and disgust (rather than indifference) man's brutality to man.

Dehumanization.—Dehumanization may be seen as a faulty form of identification of object representation and results from a failure to adequately portray the consequences of violence. Whenever the victim is depicted as less than human, or expendable because of his lesser social status, portrayed violence risks erosion of viewer's morality. American motion pictures 25 years old are still shown on television in which viewers are treated to the destruction of large numbers of dehumanized "injuns," natives, or other "gooks" by superficially structured heroes. This may be palatable to large numbers of the viewing audience on patriotic grounds in a country at war. To persevere with such fare in peacetime can only contribute to a dehumanized concept of man.

A variation in the technique of dehumanization is the glorification of the doer of violence in comparison to whom the victim seems expendable and insignificant. The glorified murderer is himself a dehumanized kind of killer (a bloated superhumanized variant) whether he is presented in the form of super-hero, or romanticized Billy the Kid or Jesse James. To such a false manslaying hero, the victim is presented as an object whose destruction serves merely to illustrate or amplify the quick-shooting ability of the glorified killer.

To the extent to which the victim is dehumanized, the viewer cannot identify compassionately with the victim. To the extent to which the aggressor is aggrandized and glorified he is also a less human figure for purpose of identification. The viewing of such material offers less than the human experience of emotional catharsis, long associated with good theater. It becomes instead an exercise in violence in which death or injury is condoned. Retaliation and vengeance are anticipated, and artistic characterization is sacrificed in the interest of immediate emotional impact.

The failure to present victims and aggressors as human beings neither stimulates positively a child's imagination, nor adequately develops his ability to identify with key characters in the telling of the story. A child's moral development is potentially dependent upon many such experiences in identification. In growing up, the child shares in part a number of adult lives through the essential mechanisms of identification, and needs to go beyond a superficial reflection of crime, retaliation, and punishment.

Demonstration.—A clearly undesirable factor is seen in violent episodes which carry a large measure of instruction in the use of destructive devices and weapons or specific, detailed techniques of murder, escape, or avoidance of detection. The "how to do it" could be far more harmful than the "whodunit." In our age of preoccupation with technical gadgetry, the focus on fantasy versus reality may be the differentiating issue in assessing the instructional aspect of the "how to do it."

A practical introductory course in guerilla warfare, the making of Molotov cocktails, or other such detailed presentations of replicable acts involving violence in dramatic programs are of questionable value at a time when crime in the streets constitutes a problem in urban living.

Similarly, a needless fascination with calibers and use of weapons is challengaable. The juvenile delinquent is a ready and suggestible imitator.

Identification.—The importance and complexities of the various mechanisms of identification in a consideration of television viewing experience is a subject worthy of a separate paper. For even the briefest introduction to this subject, one must note that the viewer of television may identify with the aggressor, the victim, the accomplice, the bystander, all at the same time, or in sequence. A child achieves entertainment through identification, and this in turn carries with it some long-range effects concerning learning, including, as one observer puts it, "the strengthening or weakening of certain personality traits of the child, such as aggression, passivity and the like."[30]

Identification lies at the very essence of the dramatic experience, cementing the contact between writer and actor, and actor and viewer. The actor plays a role well to the extent to which he can identify with the character as perceived by the writer. One appreciates a dramatic presentation to the extent to which one can identify with one or more characters in the drama.

The charming tendency of small children to identify with animals is an essential ingredient in the anthropomorphized animal characters of Walt Disney as well as in those animal stories which have long appealed to children, from Black Beauty to "Rin Tin Tin" and currently "Lassie" or "Gentle Ben."

Secret-Conspiracy-Mindedness.—Paranoid elaborations of plot, in which a character's (or writer's) subtle delusions are presented in such a fashion as to be highly believable can constitute noxious program material for immature, unsophisticated, or suggestible viewers, child or adult.

The contagiousness of a fantastic idea, when cloaked in an aura of authenticity, was graphically presented in Orson Wells' famous radio production of the invasion from Mars. With all of the "unbelievable" accomplishments and rapid developments assailing the world population in this age of communication, the readiness of certain viewers to accept at face value anything that can be seen with their own eyes contributes to a kind of gullibility (or narrowed credibility gap). The tendency for even sophisticated viewers to accept publicity aired paranoid material constitutes a formidable propoganda and public-opinion-molding potential of television.

Conspiracy-mindedness has been a disturbing accompaniment of the so-called Cold War. Televised fiction has leaned heavily toward spy stories, communist conspiracies, infiltrations of the FBI by subversives, and all manner of barely plausible CIA-type espionage, counterespionage, and super-state sleuthing.

George Orwell's *1984*, the James Bond series, the Wittaker Chambers case, and the McCarthy-Army televised debates all represent certain peaks in the range of conspiracy-mindedness which has divided our population (both in newscast and fiction) during the Cold War period. Programming which tends to further suspicions of neighbors or subcultural groups against others can only increase the level of frustration, fear, and hostility in the viewing audience.

This is to be differentiated from the legitimate, alerting function which television can perform in pointing to such dangers as smog, pollution, crime in the streets, overpopulation, military vulnerability, or subversion, or waste of national resources.

Conclusions

Much of the controversy about television violence persists and proliferates because of the difficulties in carrying out controlled, long-term research studies that could provide answers rather than support opinions. The studies recently mandated by the federal government, calling for the expenditure of $1 million of National Institute of Mental Health research funding, are a measure of the current assessment of the importance of these questions.

The present materials have been developed in the course of consultation with the Code Authority in the study of objections of Code monitors and others to segments of television programming in the past 18 months. In addition, we have viewed directly, or reviewed though private screenings, upwards of 400 hours of network television programming of the type most often criticized for violence.

We have attempted to provide some initial guidelines in the evaluation and sorting out of episodes which would appear most questionable from the monitor's or editor's viewpoint. In so doing, we have sought to identify certain practical rating factors, from fantasy and humor through an alphabet of other variables, around which the emotional impact of violent episodes might be assessed. Ultimate answers will require not only a broad range of successfully completed research studies, but considerable advance in our knowledge of the dynamic mechanisms of television viewing in the processes of child development, with special reference to social learning.

A practical, beginning approach, around which psychiatrists and other behavioral scientists and television programmers can come to discuss these issues is offered herein.

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Senator **Pastore**. Thank you very much, Mr. Wasilewski.

Now is there anyone in the room from the scientific community who wants to add anything further to this?

(No response.)

Senator **Pastore**. We have three witnesses tomorrow morning starting at 10 o'clock. Until then I want to thank you for coming.

We will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow.

(Whereupon at 12:20 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, March 24, 1972.

THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1972

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Commerce,
Subcommittee on Communications,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a.m. in room 5110, New Senate Office Building, Hon. John O. Pastore (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pastore, Cannon, and Stevens.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR PASTORE

Senator Pastore. The hour of 10 having been reached, we will continue.

When the Surgeon General appeared to tender the Report of his Committee on televised violence and its impact on children, I said our journey was just beginning. In my judgment, what has taken place in the past few days is nothing less than the scientific and cultural breakthrough. For we now know there is a causal relation between televised violence and antisocial behavior which is sufficient to warrant immediate remedial action. It is this certainty which has eluded men of good will for so long.

Great as this achievement is, I also believe these hearings have underscored what I said at the outset—long and arduous effort is still before us. What has been accomplished will be lost if we do not proceed expeditiously and effectively. For the highest medical authority in the land has told us, "No action in this social area is a form of action. It is an acquiescence in the continuation of the present level of televised violence entering American homes."

I am, therefore, requesting the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Surgeon General, and the FCC to establish a method of measuring the amount of televised violence entering American homes—a violence index—so that the Secretary may report to this committee annually the results of his study. That is only part of what we expect to be done.

As a whole, I think we have to take a hard look at what has transpired here in the past few days. We will have to review again the Advisory Committee's Report in conjunction with the testimony of the individuals who testified here. We have to intensify our efforts in impressing upon the industry that it has a personal responsibility to meet this problem and to do something about it, and do it quickly. Time is of the essence.

This is the first time that we have had a major scientific research study done on this subject. Irrespective of the Advisory Committee's Report, merely looking at the worksheets and the research and study that was done the research scientists who went into this matter in detail, makes clear to me there is no question that there is a causal relationship between violence on television and its effect on the behavior of young children, and sometimes I dare say, even adults.

Our first witness today is Mr. Leo Bogart, executive vice president of the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association of New York.

STATEMENT OF LEO BOGART, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, BUREAU OF ADVERTISING OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, N.Y

Mr. BOGART. Good morning.

Senator PASTORE. We are very happy to have you here, Mr. Bogart.

Mr. BOGART. By now perhaps what I am about to say may seem redundant. I want to make it clear that I am here not as a representative of my employers or of the Consumer Psychological Association, of which I happen to be president this year. I am not even a qualified representative of the blackballees, but I hope that in the next 18 minutes I can dwell not so much on the conclusions drawn by the Advisory Committee in its summary, because the five volumes of technical reports, I think, as you have said, must be evaluated on their own merits, and not on the basis of any attempt to synthesize them in compromise language.

These five volumes, in my view, represent a very substantial addition to our understanding of television, and to our understanding of how children grow up in our society. To design a research program that embodied such eclectic approaches, and to complete and digest it in so short a time represents a remarkable accomplishment for the Advisory Committee and for the professional staff headed by Dr. Rubinstein.

I think the Committee's conclusions are an accurate, if cautiously worded, summary of the research. As I read them, they say that television violence is not good for children. For some children, the effects can be traced rather clearly; for others, the effects are apparently too subtle for the measuring instruments.

In spite of its merits, my impression is that the report has been a frustrating one to cope with, both to the broadcasting business, and to members of your subcommittee.

From the beginning, a great many people seem to have defined the problem in terms of what psychologists might describe as stimulus and response theory. "Violent" messages go out on the air. If bad, mean, aggressive, antisocial acts result, we should be able to count them.

If we can't count them, they don't exist. So the theory goes. But in real life communications just don't work that way.

Study after study has shown the tremendous difficulty of teasing out specific effects from the tissue of surrounding social influences. The absence of conclusive results, when rigorous criteria of statistical significance are applied, may reflect the limitations of the research methods more than any weakness in the influences being assessed.

So what some laymen may perceive as a shilly-shallying statement, surrounded by ifs, ands and buts, comes as close to solid inference as, in my experience, social scientists generally get.

Public officials tend to think in legal terms, as though the issue were one of proving a case against TV violence, or failing to prove it. But the legal analogy simply does not apply to science, where we come ever closer to an elusive truth by a constant re-examination of the evidence, where the exceptions are more interesting than the generalizations, and where the quality of almost any study is to be judged not only by its findings, but by the new questions it presents.

Common sense tells us that communications leave effects and that violence in communications is bad rather than good. A substantial body of evidence supported these premises before the present project was undertaken, as the Eisenhower Commission stated.

Common sense, and prior research also led us to assume that violence as an ingredient in television drama could not be regarded under one general heading. Violence must take on a different meaning when it is perceived as real or as fictional; when it involves human actors or cartoon characters; when it is part of a dramatic situation that is resolved or one in which the outcome is uncertain; when the perpetrators of violence are perceived as sympathetic or as unsympathetic; powerful or weak. The technical reports should make us even more alert to the necessity of being specific when we talk about violence.

The studies understandably focused on the effects of violence on displays of aggression. But some of TV's most significant influences may be felt in areas of behavior and belief which are difficult or impossible to measure.

The "invisible" effects of individual incidents of TV violence may add up to patterns that would leave their traces upon the culture even when individual episodes could not be related to specific effects.

To understand the phenomenon I am describing, consider the traditional treatment of the Negro in television, movies, and radio until the middle 1960s. We all know that Negroes were rarely present in the media, and on those rare occasions they usually occupied highly stereotyped roles.

Senator Pastore. Can I interrupt you for a moment, sir?

Mr. Bogart. Sure.

Senator Pastore. I think the Surgeon General hit what you're saying right on the nose when he said this:

> While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable for social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate action. The data on social phenomena, such as social and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on a succinct statement on causality. But there comes a time when data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come.

Now that is just about what you are saying, isn't it?

Mr. Bogart. I think it is insofar as what he is pointing to, which is the importance of taking action rather than worrying about scientific proof of cause and effect.

Senator Pastore. Well, I think that is what he is saying. Maybe you can't put your finger on it, as you have said, but there is enough substance there from which the conclusion that there is a causal effect is inescapable.

Mr. BOGART. I agree that is so, sir. What I am trying to point to in my analogy with the past treatment of minority groups on television, is that, as I will go on to say, that in an ongoing flow of communications, the effects are often extremely difficult to trace in the absence of a countervailing flow that might have an opposite effect. So that to pursue my point, if I may, if social scientists had been asked in 1960 to measure effects of treating Negroes as "nonpersons" on television—it may have been pointed out that aftre all, this treatment was only a distorted reflection of their handicaps in the real world. I submit no convincing evidence could have been put together to relate the absence of Negroes from television or the movies specifically to the way in which Negroes perceived themselves. It would have been even more difficult to demonstrate the effects of this treatment on the attitudes of the white majority.

But common sense and social science theory would have led us in 1960 to say, as many of us did say, that the exclusion of Negroes from the media was having an effect and an undesirable one.

But in the absence of hard evidence, such arguments could easily be dismissed. Broadcasters of that time, when they were queried about that practice, did say, in conversations that I and many of us can vividly remember, that they themselves wanted to put Negro entertainers on the air, but that this would be unacceptable to their advertisers. The advertisers also disclaimed any prejudices; they merely wished to avoid unnecessary controversy.

As businessmen, they could hardly afford, they said, to offend substantial numbers of customers.

In spite of these arguments, a change took place, as we are all aware—a great change and one made reluctantly in response to compelling pressure. I am not aware that any advertiser has gone out of business all the bigots stopped buying his products when TV changed for the better. And I don't think anybody is going to go out of business in the advertising or in the media when content changes for the better again. When it changes, I don't think one can confine the discussion to the kiddie shows. Children watch more adult programing than programing addressed especially to them.

I did a fast check in the metropolitan Washington area last November, and only 43 percent of the TV time spent by children between 2 and 5 years old was with "children's programs;" for children aged 6 through 11, the proportion fell to 32 percent. This type of analysis can certainly be replaced in other cities.

So the questions posed by the research go beyond the short-run relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior in children. They concern the long-run influence of the mass media in shaping our national character.

How do you measure the forces that shape character? I don't think anyone knows, but I do think that our society, in its finest expressions, understands what forces make for good character. Symbolic fantasies of violence are simply not among them.

True, such fantasies on TV are satisfying to vast audiences and have had their counterparts in other media throughout the history of American popular culture. TV did not invent them.

True, violence in the media is merely a commercial expression of anxieties and rages that increasingly suffuse wide areas of our collective life. It is fatuous to argue that these forces would abate if the media were to ban all showings of Macbeth and confine newscasts to the happy side of life, as some have argued, and as some have already done.

Yet we cannot dismiss the importance of TV violence merely because other more powerful forces are also at large to stimulate aggressive fantasies and to arouse emotions that lead to aggressive acts.

Personally I see no prospect of eliminating violence from TV, because violence is part of life and part of art. As long as television news reporting stays free, the violence and brutality of our real world should and will be reflected in it.

And as long as TV gives time, however infrequently, to plays and films of artistic integrity, it will show violence as a dramatic aspect of human affairs.

Senator Pastore. Has there ever been a statistical study as to what the percentage is of young children who look at the news broadcasts?

Mr. Bogart. Yes, sir, that data is available. I didn't break it out, but it can easily—

Senator Pastore. Will you furnish it for the record?

Mr. Bogart. Sure.

(The information requested follows:)

New York, *April 3, 1972.*

Mr. Nicholas Zapple,
Communications Counsel, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Zapple: Senator Pastore asked me about the extent to which children viewed television news programs. This information can be obtained for individual markets from the Advertising Research Bureau local ratings reports.

For the month of November, for example, the following patterns appear at the time of the early evening network newscasts. In Washington, the newscasts combined were being viewed by 3% of all the children age two to five and by 2% of all those age six to eleven. This was equivalent to an audience share for the news of 19% among the two- to five-year-olds, which is to say that the remaining 81% were watching alternative shows on independent channels. Among the six- to eleven-year-olds the news programs had a 7% share.

In New York, at the same time, the news shows had a 6% share among the two- to five-year-olds and a 5% share among those six to eleven.

In Chicago, where the network news comes on at 5:30, they draw 4% of the two- to five-year-olds and 3% of the six- to eleven-year-olds. In Dallas-Ft. Worth, at the same time, the share figures are 5% for the two- to five-year-olds and 7% for those six to eleven. It is interesting to note, however, that at 6:00, when local news competes with a different mix of programs on the independent channels, the local newscasts have a 19% share of audience among the two- to five-year-olds and a 21% share among the six- to eleven-year-olds.

In interpreting ratings data one must always be cautious about not taking the numbers literally. This is true not only because of normal sampling variations, but because local ratings are based on diaries which are generally filled in by the housewife and are therefore only a rough approximation and perhaps an understatement of the child's viewing. The findings show: (1) that young children overwhelmingly prefer to watch other entertainment types of programming rather than newscasts when they have the choice, (2) large numbers of them are nontheless exposed to television newscasts (for example, in the period measured there were 24,000 children age two to five in New York who watched newscasts on a typical evening), and (3) there is no clear indication of a change in viewing habits from the pre-school years to the primary school age range.

Very sincerely yours,

Leo Bogart.

Senator Pastore. When you turn to the news, there the problem becomes doubly hard. After all, you cannot taint the news or moderate the news. But I am wondering what is the interest of young people in news programs; and from there, of course, work out this question of what relationship it has to violence. No one is suggesting now that there is going to be any curb. I want the press to know that.

Mr. BOGART. I understand the motive of your question. Some of the data may actually be in the technical report on television content. The pattern, of course, of news program viewing will change and grow with children's ages, and, of course, a lot of the viewing that children do of adult programs is what might be described as incidental viewing which takes place in the context of a family living room situation where the child is part of the group.

Now I believe that every television professional knows, the real issue in the present discussion is not the use of violence that honestly reflects the passions and conflicts of our troubled times. The issue rather is the deliberate use of cliche violence, violence contrived to formula, violence as a commodity that can be "packaged" for sale.

But I wonder whether this is any less objectionable, or any more damaging to the general welfare, than the use of formulas and cliches in depicting other kinds of human relationships in the mass media.

How can this powerful and magnificent medium of communication be moved upward on the scale that runs from banality to inspiration? Certainly a strong, adequately funded, and autonomous public broadcasting service is essential to help set standards and to compete for the elite sector of the audience. But as you know, the kind of programing featured in public and educational broadcasting has rarely been able to outpull light entertainment programing in audience popularity, either in the United States or anywhere else in the world.

Commercial broadcasters seeking the largest possible audiences are, therefore, reluctant to schedule programs of quality at peak viewing hours, when their competitors can draw more viewers with shows aimed at a lower level of taste.

I should like to propose that the half hour of prime time recently divested from the networks by the FCC be restored to them. The studies made for the Commission confirm my purely subjective impression that the networks have been more sensitive than most station managements to the issue of TV violence.

Trade press reports would seem to indicate that much of the local programing introduced this season to replace the lost network half hour consists of packaged syndication material, reruns, and feature films. Their average level of violence may well be higher and their taste level lower than prime-time network programing to which they substitute.

To compensate for the half hour, I propose that the first hour of network prime time following the early evening newscasts—the prime time hour which draws the largest juvenile audience—should be devoted wholly to programs of above-average intellectual or cultural substance. I do not ask that commercial TV in this hour become a replica of public TV, but I do think it should exclude programs that public TV would not consider airing.

I believe that this proposal further can work with no commercial disadvantage to the broadcasters or to their advertisers, but it will work only if it is made applicable to all stations, network, and nonnetwork alike. If the networks only do it, the others will be tuned to the old movies.

The total size of the TV audience is relatively constant for any given time period. A point which I don't believe was sufficiently stressed in the Advisory Committee report. Since most people view television as a way of passing the time, their viewing does not go substantially up or down when the mix of programing changes. They watch just as much when they can choose among seven channels as when they must settle for one. They will watch TV just as much if they can choose only among good programs as when they must choose only among bad ones. They will watch just as much if they can choose only among programs which ban violence as when they must choose among varieties of violence.

Of course, people watch TV to be entertained rather than for moral uplift or instruction; they also like what is familiar, and they are familiar with the formula diet they have been fed. I am not suggesting that the programming in this hour be dull, pretentious or didactic. I merely propose that it meet whatever standards of excellence the broadcasting industry itself may devise.

The very intelligent and competent judges of talent who manage the broadcasting business know perfectly well the difference between quality and junk. Why can they not all raise their sights for one hour a night, even if it merely means rescheduling programs that might otherwise run in less attractive time periods?

Inevitably a high proportion of programs in this time spot would be repeats, but programs can be repeated a number of times and still win large audiences. Let the industry work out its own criteria and set up its own mechanism to police conformity with them.

The television industry will no doubt consider my proposal outrageous and impractical, but is it not worth a trial, if only for a single evening of the week, beginning with the fall season of 1973?

Suppose the industry learns through such an experiment that it can, without loss of audience, upgrade its programming standards in unison, when individual broadcasters can never do so on their own for fear that competitors would gain the advantage. Would this not be an enormous incentive to upgrade quality for more than one evening a week, and for more than one hour of the broadcast day?

In my view, the most important aspect of the study sponsored by your committee has nothing to do with TV or with children. It concerns the government's use of social research. Surely there are few precedents for this kind of a major crash program of research, set up with a substantial but arbitrary budget and an arbitrary deadline. What lessons can be drawn from this experience?

I would like to draw five:

1. We can learn a great deal of very useful information rather quickly. The technical reports encompassed a variety of techniques, professional disciplines and theoretical assumptions. Although they may have ranged a little too far afield to in some cases, the studies stand, I think, as a notable achievement under stress.

2. The controversy which has surrounded the publication of the committee report must be taken as a warning of how difficult it is to translate social research findings into the kinds of "go-no-go" verdicts that policymakers crave. The social scientist cannot experiment at will with human subjects as a chemist can with ingredients in his lab. He commonly deals with more complex variables, whose relationships

are harder to disentangle. Business managements have learnd to act effectively on the basis of the cautious and incomplete answers of social research, at least in the sphere of marketing, and I think government official and legislators must acquire the same skills, and I think that was the point you were citing from the Surgeon General, sir.

3. Next, social researchers should recognize that an accumulation of many small-scale studies can never appear as convincing to laymen as a handful of studies using very large and representative samples. But policymakers must also realize that scientific criteria appropriate for tightly controlled experiments with small groups of people are not the same as those that apply to evaluating findings from the national polls.

4. The idea that an industry should not only be represented directly in a scholarly inquiry into its activities, but should also exercise a veto over the membership of the investigating panel, is too stupid and scandalous to escape commentary. It cannot be permitted again in future government-sponsored research on public matters that affect established interests.

Former HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch has cited the Surgeon General's inquiry into smoking and health as a precedent for the procedure in the present instance. Does this mean that the government is to reject all independent authorities on controversial matters except those acceptable to one side from here on in? The answer is self-evident.

5. Finally, the budget of this research program represents .01 percent of the $10 billion that consumers and advertisers together will spend on television this year. $1 million does not seem to me like a disproportionately large sum to spend relative to the money investment in TV or to the larger investment in public time and attention. But this project is still almost unique, I believe in the federal budget, in its size and scope. As far as I have been able to find out, outside the Defense Department and the Census Bureau, the only substantial funding for social research, exclusive of economic and demographic studies, has been in the field of mental illness.

The million dollars might have been more wisely spent on a continuing research program than on one designed and executed on a crash basis, but I don't believe it would have been more productively spent. Large and continuing problems do require continuing research, but the task force concept embodied by this project has proven its value as a way of mobilizing an exceptional outpouring of talent and energy. That kind of conscientious effort on behalf of a public service goal becomes harder to summon when the conclusions of social research are disregarded.

With due respect for the wisdom and zeal of your subcommittee, and with an understanding of its limited province, why has the subject of TV violence received such a high research priority? Are there not other far more pressing items on the national agenda that demand the same large-scale funding, the same sense of urgency, the same collaborative effort and variety of research techniques? Where in the federal budget is the social research to help us cope with the crisis of our cities, with the challenge of the poverty cycle, with the problems of our educational system, of medical care, of our courts and correctional institutions, with the social aspects of transportation, housing and the environment?

Senator **Pastore**. I hope in that regard, sir, that we have started something. Our jurisdiction was, of course, limited to television.

Mr. **Bogart**. I understand that.

Senator **Pastore**. The jurisdiction of this committee runs to TV. I understand what you are saying, and I agree with it. As a matter of fact, we did make that observation when the Surgeon General was here together with Dr. Rubenstein. Unfortunately, Dr. Rubenstein is no longer in the government, and that we regret very, very much.

But I think that the National Institute of Health ought to pursue this in a general way just as you have stated, because we only have a piecemeal part of it.

Mr. **Bogart**. I appreciate your concurrence, because I do believe that relative to the $1 million spent to study TV violence, what kind of a social research budget would be appropriate to get findings of equivalent authority and utility on the drug problem, or on the unresolved issue of race relations?

Senator **Stevens**. Along that line, if you would come to my office, I would be glad to provide you with the amount of money we are spending. You leave the impression we are not spending a cent. We are spending a large amount of money to investigate our educational system, the adequacy of the health delivery system, and the problems of people in the poverty cycle. I wouldn't want to leave the impression that this $1 million is untouched and unused.

Mr. **Bogart**. I don't think you have gotten my point, sir.

My point is not that the federal government is not spending money on social research——

Senator **Stevens**. To quote—"help us cope with the crisis of our cities, with the challenge of the poverty cycle, with the problems of our educational system, of medical care, of our courts and correctional institutions, with the social aspects of transportation, housing and the environment." If you'd like [illegible] breakdown, I'll get it for you.

Mr. **Bogart**. I would appreciate that.

Senator **Stevens**. I would be glad to provide you with the facts showing where the money is and how much it is. This year the social budget exceeds the defense budget. If you would like to go into it——

Mr. **Bogart**. I am talking about social research.

Senator **Stevens**. You imply there is no money.

Mr. **Bogart**. I did not imply there was no money. I wasn't talking about the social budget, I was talking about the social research, analogous to the research done in business and the private sector.

Senator **Stevens**. I can break that down for you, sir, and it is well in excess of $1 million.

Mr. **Bogart**. I agree; it is well a multiple of that sum. I know breakdown figures seem to be available in the public domain. What I am saying here makes this a unique project that had a sense of focus, it had a very specific question area that was defined, and the research was planned in a coordinated way to come up with some answers within a limited period of time.

Now the federal government has, to my knowledge, used this kind of task force crash program approach to social research in the past. I have been associated with some efforts of this kind myself many years ago. What I am saying is that we're in the areas outside of mental health, the best of my inquiry has been unable to produce any analogy to the present project in scope and in the sense of urgency and also in the ability to mobilize the tremendous knowledge and talents and skills of people around the country both in universities and in the private sector who will put everything else aside in order to come to grips with something they feel is important, and where somebody is going to act on it. That is what I'm trying to say here.

As I have said in my statement, we have been getting a lot of opinion about bussing, but what is it worth to get facts? I think it is worth a lot more than $1 million, and with due respect to your greater familiarity with the federal budget, sir, I would question whether we are spending $1 million to get the answers to the bussing problem, whether there is a concerted program underway to investigate this.

So in conclusion, I feel that the committee is to be congratulated on the research program that you set in motion on the important subject of television's effects on our children—and on all of us, is important.

I hope that it adds to government's awareness of the contribution that social science can make to broader fields of national policy.

Senator Pastore. Dr. Bogart, I merely want to say that I think you have been very objective, very fair. There has been no acrimony or disappointment that I can perceive, and you have been congratulatory where you should have been, and critical where you should have been.

I repeat again, I want to thank you.

Mr. Bogart. Thank you.

Senator Pastore. Mr. Cannon?

Senator Cannon. Nothing, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Pastore. Mr. Stevens?

Senator Stevens. I have one last question regarding your reference to the conclusion of the industry representatives on the inquiry and the reference that Secretary Finch made to the Surgeon General's inquiry on smoking and health as procedure. Do you believe that when we get into these projects of specific, as you say, and directed research, that those people who have spent a lifetime in the industry should be excluded.

Mr. Bogart. Certainly not. In fact, when the composition of this Advisory Committee was first brought up, and my opinion was solicited on it, I specifically suggested that representatives of the broadcasting business with the professional qualifications be members of the Advisory Committee.

Senator Stevens. As I understand it, you're criticizing the approach that was taken on the basis that these people were involved?

Mr. Bogart. I am saying that someone who served on the Advisory Committee should not be on the committee black-balling someone else.

Senator Stevens. I assume it is a matter of inquiring into something which everyone seems to believe is a matter of self-regulation, which we are involved in right now. Why should that not start at the very beginning? It seems to me that what you are saying is that we want these people to regulate themselves and to look into this matter, and to do what is right for the American public. Yet at the same time they are allowed no determination as to who makes the report and conducts the investigation, which they themselves should do.

If it is something that we should regulate or Congress should legislate on, and in which we should have government direction, I could understand your position. But as long as we all agree it is solely a voluntary function of the industry to police itself, which, as I understand, is the agreement so far, then why is it that this procedure of letting them have a veto over those people who serve on the investigative committee is wrong?

Mr. Bogart. The investigation was a public inquiry, it wasn't an internal investigation launched by the broadcasting business. I merely enunciated a principle which I think is embodied in our system of government that we have a variety of viewpoints heard on any subject of controversy.

Senator Stevens. That is just the point, but we have all assumed, I take it, that it is not a function of government to censure this industry. It *is* a function of government however to try to encourage them to reprogram and take into effect the total interest of the public in what they are doing.

Mr. Bogart. Well, Senator——

Senator Cannon. Would the Senator yield?

Senator Stevens. I would be happy to yield.

Senator Cannon. I don't see that as the purpose of that investigation at all. I don't think that was the intent of the investigation.

Senator Pastore. If I may give the genesis. I have lived with this almost as long as I have been in the Congress of the United States and that goes back 22 years. I have been on—I have been on the Communications Subcommittee as Chairman, I think, since 1954 or '55.

All of us have been quite disturbed about quality of some of the programing.

Under the Constitution of the United States, the First Amendment, the right of free speech is a prevailing right and no one wants to do anything to trespass upon that, impinge upon it or damage it.

This study was conducted because there were many people who had a diverse point of view as to whether or not there was a casual effect between violence on television and the behavior of children. And in order to put it to rest once and for all, so that everybody would know scientifically what the answer was, we conducted this study. It had nothing at all to do with who is going to regulate what or what the constitutional prerogatives were, or what the intent of the law was. We merely wanted to establish as a factual situation that this condition does or does not exist. Then we go further there.

Now I said in the opening remarks, while the Senator from Alaska may disagree with me, I think it was most unfortunate even for the industry itself, to become part of the panel because it raises the suspicion that possibly there was a conflict of interest.

Now I was more than happy when I heard the two scientists delegated by NBC and CBS, agree with the rest of the panel and with the Surgeon General. Because I think they based their answers on their integrity as scientists. I think they were very fair. In some instances, they didn't agree with the others; but naturally, any time you call upon someone associated with an industry to make an investigation of a matter that may affect the profit area of that industry, you raise the question as to whether or not there may be a conflict of interest.

I don't say in this case there was. But I think myself that the industry itself would have been better off if they hadn't been asked to participate. The only reason why it was is because this is the way it was done in study of cigarette smoking.

I don't want to impugn the motives of the man who did it. I think he thought at the time that because it did involve the industry, if they were on the inside to see what the situation was, it might be helpful. I think that is why they did it.

But on second thought, I think everyone seems to agree it would have been better if they hadn't done it.

Mr. **Bogart**. Without belaboring the point, Senator, if I may just take issue with you to this extent: I think it would be very difficult to assemble a body of people who were knowledgeable about the subject with a prior history of research and with the procedures and principles involved in the research and experimentation and also with the subject matter, who did not include people who had either been in the employ or been involved in one manner or another in the actual, practical——

Senator **Pastore**. None of those who did the actual research were so engaged, were they?

Mr. **Bogart**. Well, to this extent: that the research included data supplied by research organiaztions that are in effect in the employ of the television business.

What I am saying is that it is very hard to tease out connections of this kind or to start worrying about members' motives.

Senator **Pastore**. Well, it is a pretty good rule in order to avoid even the suspicion of conflict. Whether or not it was necessary in this case, I think the future will tell.

But frankly, at this moment I am not that much disturbed; having heard Dr. Klapper and Dr. Coffin, I am not that much disturbed about it.

Mr. **Bogart**. I would like to, if I may, clarify something that Senator Stevens left in the air that I think calls for clarification. There is a clear distinction, it seems to me, between the deliberations of the industry as to what it does in the way of self-regulation from here on in, and the kind of public inquiry which was initiated in this instance and on which the Scientific Advisory Commission was active, or other kinds of public inquiry that may be launched in the future into matters involved in public interest.

It may be profitmaking interests or powerfully established nonprofit interests. I think that people who know the subject matter should be encouraged to get involved, regardless of which side of the fence they are on.

Senator **Stevens**. I would say it is obvious that our chairman has a great deal more finesse in stating his point than I do. In a practical manner, what I am trying to say is that if your end objective is to involve the industry in an upgrading program, then they themselves have to be part of it and it has to be their mechanism if it is going to work.

Mr. **Bogart**. I agree with that.

Senator **Stevens**. If we are going to have a Government regulation as end result, it doesn't matter. But they must be convinced that it is a fair investigation, they must be convinced of the end result if they are to be involved in the total program leading to the end objective of self-regulation.

Mr. **Bogart**. There is a difference, I insist, between regulation and scholarship and we are talking about scholarship here.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much. Doctor, it was a pleasure to have had you.

I understand we are going to see some pictures. There is a unanimous-consent agreement to vote at quarter to 11. I was wondering at this point—we have here a Mrs. Peggy Charren; is she here?

Mrs. CHARREN. Yes.

Senator PASTORE. Are you going to supervise these pictures, or is your testimony apart from them?

Mrs. CHARREN. It will come in the middle of the testimony.

Senator PASTORE. Then don't you think it might be a good idea if we wait and go and vote. Then come back so we won't break the contiunity of your presentation?

Mrs. CHARREN. Fine. Thank you very much.

Senator PASTORE. Is there a witness in this room who will take no more than 10 minutes?

Mr. Cater?

STATEMENT OF DOUGLASS CATER, VISITING PROFESSOR, STANFORD UNIVERSITY; DIRECTOR, ASPEN PROGRAM ON COMMUNICATIONS IN SOCIETY

Mr. CATER. I can take 5 minutes.

Senator PASTORE. Mr. Cater, you are very welcome here. I wish you would come forward and maybe we should hear you now, because you are the father of public broadcasting; if I remember, you are the man that I dealt with when you were in the White House.

Mr. CATER. Mr. Chairman, this is an unusual experience. It is the first time I have testified, even though you know I was in the White House for nearly 5 years. I hadn't planned to.

I did submit a statement for the record, but I was so impressed by these hearings that I felt one or two points might be made.

Senator PASTORE. Will you give your association at the present time?

Mr. CATER. I am currently visiting professor at Stanford University. I am, in addition, the director of what is called the Aspen Program on Communications in Society. It is a program that was launched this winter, has a distinguished board of sponsors, including men like Jim Killian, former president of MIT, Elliott Abel, dean of journalism at Columbia, and also the former president of CBS News, and others concerned about the media and the public interest in the years ahead.

What we are seeking to do is identify some of the leading problems and to convene the type of people who can give thoughtful consideration to them.

In February after the report of the Surgeon General, our program convened a conference at Palo Alto that gave 2 days of serious review. We included some of the distinguished members of the committee; we included some who had been blackballed from the committee; and we included others.

But the report which I have submitted for your records is an attempt to draw some meaning from this first hard look at it.

But I just wanated to add today because I have been impressed with the continuing effort that you and particularly Senator Baker have shown in trying to cope with what we do next.

Having served both as a journalist and in the White House and thinking about institutional arrangements, I have a couple of suggestions. It seems to me one or two points raised in the research and hearnigs need to be stressed. One of these is that promiscuous violence on television is not necessarily an act of deliberate choice by network executives. It comes perhaps in a significant degree from the enormous consumptive needs of the industry, the desperate effort to fill 20 hours a day of programing that will attract an audience.

Now I mention this because these consumptive needs are going to be vastly increased in the years ahead as the cable enters the home and brings 12, 20, or even more channels into the home. Cable will provide what has been called television of abundance, a bottomless pit to be filled, not only by the networks, but by endless reruns of movies and other syndicated programs that will come from a variety of sources.

What we have talked about yesterday or what was discussed yesterday, the X-rated movie will become a serious problem when you have——

Senator Pastore. When I was given the privilege of addressing the American Women in Radio and Television, I said that television has an avaricious appetite. I would hope that we would watch TV very closely because I was afraid we were going to get ourselves into this area of controversial and questionable pictures.

Already we have seen one instance of it. Now it is true it was sanitized this time. Maybe next time it may be less sanitized. That is what you are saying. You have three networks competing with one another. They are reaching out for the highest ratings in order to increase their advertising patronage. For that reason, of course, there is this likelihood that in the competitive spirit sometimes one becomes overly eager and sometimes forgets other things that may have a long-run effect on certain people.

Mr. Cater. Right.

Senator Pastore. But that makes our responsibility all the greater, wouldn't you agree on that?

Mr. Cater. I would agree. I would also say that 10 years from now the networks as we know them now will have far less control than they have at present over the amount of programing that is going into the home. So it is going to be a much more diverse enterprise. Not even the NAB will be in a position of review over this whole thing.

I think this point—it points to the need for careful consideration of the kind of institution that can provide a continuing measure or indicator or pollution index for our airwaves and our cable channels.

Now I say this because I do not believe the movie rating code of the Motion Picture Association provides a good model. It sets up a prescreening situation which often involves lengthy negotiations which often will change a movie from "X" to "R" to "GP." It applies to the limited number of movies coming under MPA supervision. Such prescreening, I believe, would bog down under the production and consumption requirements of the television of the future.

Other alternatives must be considered. I very much welcomed your proposal at the beginning of the hearings this morning that the Secretary of HEW be called on to look into this matter and to make a regular report to Congress on violence and other antisocial content of what goes over the channels. HEW, it seems to me, is preferable to

FCC for this task, since it does not have a regulatory authority. I think there might be some separation that is welcomed there.

I would recommend that the Secretary or the Surgeon General be urged to cooperate with non-governmental agencies or institutions to plan what might be an adequate system for measuring violence and other social effects of programing. Measuring agencies should be kept at arm's length, both from government as well as the industry. Therefore, I don't think this is a job for the NAB. Its job will be to work to develop a reliable set of idicators that will be acceptable and instructive to industry leaders, to program producers and sponsors, to citizens groups and to Congress.

Senator PASTORE. Mr. Cater, may I interrupt for this question: Are there in existence today entities to which HEW could turn to get documented proof or research or data on this question without creating any new ones?

Mr. CATER. I have thought about that in a tentative way and talked to others and I am not sure there is such a single entity. You might say the Annenberg School in Pennsylvania where Dr. Gurdner has done some very pioneering work in measuring, content analysis, and his report is in the research.

Senatore PASTORE. Now you know the limitations of government. How far government can go in creating agencies; or inspiring the creation of agencies which have no connection or are not subservient to government. That is what we are trying to achieve here, non-subservience. How would you go about doing it, Mr. Cater? You are an experienced man in this area. The suggestion has been made here that we ought to have an independent agency that would monitor and keep a record and make a study and have documented data as to the volume of violence, the quality of violence, and its effect and so forth. How do you go about achieving that?

Mr. CATER. I would suggest one precedent that occurred when I was in the White House. I was called one day and told by leaders of educational broadcasting that they were in desperate straits. They said that the act for the television facilities was coming up for renewal the next year, but that would not be enough if all they got was construction money; they were going steadily toward bankruptcy. They proposed that the President appoint a commission to study educational television, it was called in those days. But they said that as an alternative if the President preferred that the Carnegie Corporation had said that it would be willing to set up and to finance such an institution.

Well, I reviewed this with the President and I suggested to him, and still believe it, that this was peculiarly an area in which a President ought to keep an arm's length relationship. I don't believe Presidents should be too directly involved in any form of broadcasting. I recommended that he endorse publicly the notion of the Carnegie Corporation setting up, and that was how the Killian Commission evolved.

Senator PASTORE. Yes.

Mr. CATER. I think it was a good precedent. When the Commission came in, we were ready for it, we had our message prepared afterward and we got it, we sent it to Congress. That was the original.

When you said the daddy of public broadcasting, I think Mr. Killian should be the proper parent. I was primarily the midwife.

Senator PASTORE. Well, midwives are important, too.

Senator **Stevens**. You delivered an awfully fine baby, if that is the case.

Mr. **Cater**. I think we began a set of precedents which leads toward this respect for separation of authority. That is teribly impotant. I share your concern, Senator Stevens, that Government must tread lightly in this area of telling broadcasters what to do. But what is new in the situation is that there is no one person in broadcasting that can be held responsible today and certainly 10 years from now, and we have to look down the road, it will be even less so. There will be no Frank Stanton that you can say, "Why did you do this?" It is just going to be a highly diverse marketplace.

So just to conclude, I promised to do it in 5 minutes here—I was going to say that the Secretary of HEW might call in a non-Government agency or agencies to work in a collaborative effort. I think that hopefully these indicate authorities that it would work on or that several different institutions might work on, will continue to put in research money to measure beneficial effects and content of programming, as well as destructive.

Because Lord knows, television has, and can be a powerful instrument for benefit. It will not be easy and will require constant refinement.

This was wholly for the whole development of economic indicators developed by the Council of Economic Advisors and the Bureau of Labor Statistics and others. But today those indicators provide accepted yardsticks that everyone gives acceptance to. I believe it can be done in this area. I would call attention—

Senator **Pastore**. Now that gives us 5 minutes to go down and vote. Why don't you just remain where you are. We will be back in about 10 minutes and I would hope we could conclude your testimony when we come back without too much delay.

Mr. **Cater**. Thank you.

(Recess.)

Senator **Pastore**. Mr. Cater, you may proceed. I am sorry to have interrupted your train of thought. We had two fast votes there.

Mr. **Cater**. Mr. Chairman, I had been asked if I had any desire about private agencies that might be involved in this. I admitted that I was not sure that there was anyone that was just the right one. However, I would like to call your attention to a letter that has already been submitted, I understand, into the hearing record, from the President of The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation in New York, which is in my opinion one of the most farseeing foundations interested in the field of communications.

The president of the foundation, Dr. Lloyd Morrisett, wrote a letter to the Surgeon General, and has given permission to have it made a part of the record, in which he has volunteered on both the part of his foundation, and on the part of the president of the Russell Sage Foundation, to participate with the Surgeon General in discussions of ways of producing continuing social indicators of violence on television, and perhaps other factors as well, hopefully leading toward implementation of a plan for doing this in the near future.

Dr. Morrisett, in suggesting an attack on this problem, said, "I wish to assure you that both Orville Brim and I fully understand the complexity of the issue. It will be difficult to design sound measures of violence on television and the first ones will undoubtedly be imperfect and need to be improved over time. Despite this and other problems we believe the issue is important enough to warant immediate action."

See, here is an offer from people who have some resources, that I think would be useful for the Secretary of HEW and the Surgeon General to know about.

Senator Pastore. We appreciate that. I will enter that as a part of the record.

(The letter follows.)

THE JOHN AND MARY R. MARKLE FOUNDATION,
New York, N.Y., February 24, 1972.

DR. JESSE L. STEINFELD,
Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. STEINFELD: I very much appreciated the recent opportunity to participate with you and others in Palo Alto in a discussion on your Advisory Committee's report on television and violence. It seems clear from the report, the background papers and expert opinion at the conference, that there is evidence of a link between the amount of violence viewed on television and antisocial behavior.

Both Orville Brim of the Russell Sage Foundation and I were impressed by the need for techniques to monitor on a continuing basis the amount and quality of violence on television as a means of informing the public and allowing a more complete understanding of the problem. On behalf of both foundations I am writing to indicate our willingness to participate with you in discussions of ways of producing continuing social indicators of violence on television, and perhaps other factors as well, hopefully leading toward implementation of a plan for doing this in the near future.

In suggesting an attack on this problem I wish to assure you that both Orville Brim and I fully understand the complexity of the issue. It will be difficult to design sound measures of violence on television and the first ones will undoubtedly be imperfect and need to be improved over time. Despite this and other problems we believe the issue is important enough to warrant immediate action.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

LLOYD N. MORRISETT.

Mr. Cater. I would conclude that this is not the first time, Mr. Chairman, you have reviewed this problem. I don't believe it will be the last time. The important task is to develop ways to prevent the problem from falling through the cracks of neglect when you and your committee have turned your attention to other pressing problems.

I am convinced that a regular report to Congress from HEW supported by a reliable set of indicators prepared by, hopefully, a nongovernmental agency, will help insure continuing and widespread public attention to this area.

In closing, may I congratulate you on these hearings. They represent, in my opinion, the very best kind of congressional review of one of society's delicate, yet critical problems.

Thank you.

Senator Pastore. Thank you very much, Mr. Cater.

Senator Stevens. Certainly I thank you very much.

Senator Pastore. Thank you. Mr. Cater.

Next we have Mrs. Charren.

STATEMENT OF MRS. PEGGY CHARREN, PRESIDENT, ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION, NEWTONVILLE, MASS.; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. JUDITH CHALFEE; AND MRS. EVELYN SARSON

Mrs. CHARREN. I am Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television (ACT), a national organization working to upgrade children's television and to eliminate commercialism in children's programs.

With me are Evelyn Sarson, and Judith Chalfee, members of ACT's executive board.

We welcome the opportunity to appear before you today as part of these hearings which have the opportunity to lead to historic change in the way television treats our children.

I am here today representing the millions of parents in this country who are concerned about what their children are watching on television. For parents, the question about television violence is not how many children are affected by violence or exactly how they are affected, but rather why it is necessary to make violence a part of children's programing in the first place.

The real reason there is violence on children's TV is because it sells. The Nielsen ratings show that action attracts a large audience. The toy and cereal and vitamin makers—who have replaced the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker in the litany of the modern child—want their ads viewed by the largest possible portion of the 2 to 11 year old market. "The 2 to 11 year old market!" This is how the commercial broadcasters refer to children, even when they talk to the mothers of Action for Children's Television. In the many frank discussions we have had with the industry, there is no pretense about how children are considered in the elegant boardrooms where decisions are made. They are simply another block of buyers to be cajoled and exploited.

Studies prepared at this committee's request for the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior support this theory. One study found that children's cartoons were the most violent of all programs monitored. George Gerbner stated:

> It is . . . clear that children watching Saturday morning cartoons had the least chance of escaping violence or of avoiding the heaviest . . . saturation of violence on all television.

He found that "the average cartoon hour had nearly six times the violence rate of the average adult television drama hour."

Baldwin and Lewis quote one TV script writer who thinks that violent programs are an inevitable consequence of the commercial broadcasting system.

> We aren't going to get rid of violence until we get rid of advertisers. The advertiser wants something exciting with which to get the audience. Violence equals excitement equals ratings.

Another of these studies reports:

> The networks, because of their desire to sell products and please advertisers, seem to be concerned primarily with the size of the audience.

One of the broadcasters' favorite justifications for including violence in children's television is that it provides "preparation for life."

I hope my young daughter's real world will not include muggings, robbery, speed racing, and shootings. But even if that is what she faces as she grows up, I can't believe that a steady diet of these activities now, on her very own TV programs, will help her to cope.

The tragedy is that by concentrating on violence, broadcasters are ignoring the vast potential of television. Where on commercial television are the programs that show American children how other people live, that teach songs, introduce new ideas, encourage imagination or foster understanding? What do we see instead on programs supposedly designed for children? Ideally we would like you to sit with us for a Saturday morning and watch what the broadcasters invite our children to watch. Since that is not possible, we have prepared a short film which illustrates what goes on on children's TV.

We would like to thank you for setting it all up for us, Senator.

Senator PASTORE. And no admission charge will be made for this performance.

(Film presentation made.)

Senator PASTORE. Thank you very much. That was very informative.

Mrs. CHARREN. The film you just saw was made in the summer of 1971. It showed that children's television is still filled with the grotesque and the inane, that monsters still abound and the real, ugly consequences of violence are never shown.

On September 23, 1969, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence issued a statement in which it concluded that violence on television encourages real violence. The Commission recommended:

1. A reduction in programs containing violence—instead, as the Surgeon General's report shows, the number of violence programs increased.

2. Elimination of violence from children's cartoon programs—instead children's cartoons are the most violent part of TV today.

3. Adoption of the British practice of scheduling programs containing significant violence only after 9 p.m. Instead, the late afternoon, early evening, and weekend morning hours continue to be filled with violence.

4. The Commission recommended permanent federal financing for the Public Broadcast Corporation—instead, PBC, the only network that has provided a full schedule of quality programs sensitive to the needs of children still faces annual funding crises.

5. And finally it recommended intensified research . . . into the impact of television—and without your efforts, Senator Pastore, even this recommendation would have gone unheeded.

Now we have a million dollar study which proves that there is some connection between TV violence and violent behavior. What more is needed to justify government action?

We have heard witnesses at these hearings say that parents must protest. The parents have protested!

In the spring of 1970, the Federal Communications Commission issued as a notice of proposed rulemaking, ACT's petition to ban all ads on children's TV, and to require a minimum number of hours of children's programs per week on every station.

There are now 100,000 letters on file at the FCC supporting ACT's proposals. Some of the organizations joining us in urging the FCC to act included:

The American Academy of Pediatrics,
The American Association of University Women,
The American Public Health Association,
The National Association for the Education of Young Children,
The National Catholic Education Association,
The National Conference of Christians and Jews,
The National Health Council, and
The National Education Association.

What kind of response is necessary to get broadcasters to change? A letter from every parent in the United States?

Of course, what children watch is a joint responsibility. If children watch adult programs, that is the parent's responsibility. But when they are watching children's programs, the parent should not have to be looking over the child's shoulder.

Some people have suggested monitoring of programs might help to eliminate violence. Parents have been monitoring television for many years, and have seen things get worse instead of better. Some people have suggested violence ratings as the solution. But this would put all responsibility on the viewer. The network would have a free hand to run nothing but violence—as long as they labeled it clearly.

The history of children's television demonstrates that self-regulation is not the answer. It simply has not worked. The public cannot derive any sense of security from the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters. About 40 percent of broadcasters do not even subscribe to the NAB codes. The NAB rarely takes action against its members. The codes appear to be designed primarily to avoid public outcry which might lead to rules or legislation.

What we are asking for is nothing radical. We are not asking for the removal of all TV advertising . . . we are concerned only about those ads on children's programs. The First Amendment does not prohibit reasonable restrictions on advertising. Commercials could be prohibited entirely on particular kinds of programs if there is a reasonable public interest basis for doing so. In the case of Banzhaf versus FCC, the court observed:

"Promoting the sale of a product is not ordinarily associated with any of the interests the First Amendment seeks to protect . . . it is rather a form of merchandising subject to limitations for public purposes like other business practices."

Such protection for children is nothing new. The law has traditionally recognized that children require special protection: Children are not allowed to buy alcohol or cigarettes; children may not enter into contracts without the assistance of an adult guardian; children are not allowed to drive a vehicle until the age of 16, to vote until the age of 18, or to own a credit card until the age of 21. Yet in the world of television, a child is treated as an adult for advertising purposes from the day he first watches television.

Senator PASTORE. I never heard it put that way. I think it is splendid.

Mrs. CHARREN. Thank you.

We need immediate government action to take children's television out of the marketplace and free the decisionmakers to design programs to meet the needs of children of different ages, from different ethnic backgrounds and with different levels of understanding.

It is essential to support the responsible broadcaster and the responsible advertiser. Some broadcasters are clustering commercials before and after programs, rather than interrupting children's programs with advertisements. Some advertisers have replaced product messages with institutional advertising.

Some toy manufacturers are restricting their TV advertising to adult programs. Some producers are replacing violence-ridden cartoons with attempts to provide diversity. If the broadcasters and advertisers who act responsibly are put in an unfavorable competitive position by businessmen who are allowed to continue to use children to build profits, then even these isolated efforts are doomed.

If our proposal to prohibit all advertising on children's programs is adopted, it will be necessary to find other sources of funding for children's programs. We are not suggesting it is possible to ban ads on children's programs one day and the next day supply a full schedule of quality programs. But we do not think that our proposals are as unrealistic or as expensive as some broadcasters would have you believe. Rather we think that financing of children's programing must be recognized as a long-term investment.

Children's programing is uniquely repeatable. Children love to watch the same thing over and over again and in addition, there is an entirely new batch of 3- to 5-year-olds or 9- to 11-year-olds every 3 years. Ultimately it should be possible for broadcasters to draw on a bank of quality children's programs, updating only those which become dated rather than producing a whole season's worth of new shows each year. Consider the case of the movie, "The Wizard of Oz." It was made in 1939, and still attracts a large television audience year after year.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that the Federal Communications Commission was created by Congress to regulate the broadcast industry so as to meet the public interest, convenience, and necessity. To satisfy this mandate, ACT urges:

1. That the FCC declare children's television a public service area and eliminate all commercials from children's programs.
2. That the FCC require every station to provide a minimum number of hours of children's programing.
3. That if the FCC fails to act, that the Senate Commerce Committee introduce legislation to secure this protection for our children.

Senator Pastore. Would you go so far as to advocate complete abolition of commercials. Or do you think commercials could be done in a more sophisticated way that wouldn't involve the children?

Mrs. Charren. We think there is a special problem in advertising to children which is not true in advertising to adults. We think that better advertising, more information in advertising, truth in advertising, can certainly help adults deal with the pressures of commercials on television.

Senator Pastore. I should think that——

Mrs. Charren. But not children.

Senator Pastore. I should think that should be explored very closely. I tell you why I say this: Now a representative of ABC was in here yesterday; were you here?

Mrs. Charren. No, I read his testimony, though.

Senator PASTORE. Well, apparently he has come up with a whole new set of ideas that all action is to be taken out and they will run those shows practically all day Saturday and on Sunday. Now that is a lot of television time.

Mrs. CHARREN. Right.

Senator PASTORE. And you run into this question of how far you can go in developing quality television at other times if you don't have the profit that is necessary to stay in business. Do I make myself clear?

Mrs. CHARREN. Right, absolutely.

Senator PASTORE. You see. Now, the point I raise is I think as a start there ought to be some modification of this whole business. Now it is clear to me, and I quite agree with you, that the whole idea of these children's programs is to sell products. No question about that. That has been the motive behind them; that has been the inspiration behind it, and if it wasn't for the aggressiveness on the part of this committee over the year, I think, myself, it would have gone on unabated.

Mrs. CHARREN. The broadcast industry has made the same points in other hearings. If you refer back 5 years to the Dodd hearings, every time there is a group that complain, they say they are going to get better, and they make four programs and—

Senator PASTORE. I think you answered my question. The answer is that if it becomes a matter that they can't program without commercials over a long period of time, then cut down the amount of program time, and leave the rest to the responsibility of the parent?

Mrs. SARSON. Absolutely.

Mrs. CHARREN. Right.

Senator PASTORE. That makes sense. Any one of your colleagues want to speak on this?

Mrs. CHARREN. No, unless you have some questions.

Senator PASTORE. Mr. Cannon?

Senator CANNON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't have any questions, but I would like to make the observation that I think your presentation has been very, very helpful and you have some real constructive suggestions that would be helpful to us in the process of these hearings.

Mrs. CHARREN. We appreciated the opportunity to come talk. Thank you.

Senator PASTORE. Wait a minute. We have another Senator here.

Senator STEVENS. What are your views regarding the advertising that leads the young child to tear the ad off a box and send it in, or the responsive type ad where they say cut the coupon off the bread wrapper and send it in?

Mrs. CHARREN. You mean the ad on the cereal box or do you mean when that ad is on television?

Senator STEVENS. When that ad is on television and they say send it it.

Mrs. CHARREN. We feel premium advertising puts pressure on the parent. They have it for gas now and I can assure you under no stretch of the imagination do children need gasoline. And I resent it when my child tells me which gas to buy. I don't want to go to her gas station to pick up gas.

Senator STEVENS. I agree with you.

Senator PASTORE. And that is happening?

Mrs. **Charren**. Absolutely?

Mrs. **Sarson**. We know.

Senator **Stevens**. Nothing makes me madder than to find out I have new golf balls or records in the mail which one of my children saw on one of these programs and has dropped the coupon in the mail. I have a junior and he signs his name just about like I do. He is getting some of these things which I am paying for.

Thus I think you have made a very good suggestion. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the FCC for one is listening because I really think you have made a real solid point that may explain to some extent some of the things we are seeing in teenagers today that some of us in our generation don't like.

Mrs. **Charren**. Thank you.

Now there has been a consciousness on the part of the networks to do something about this. I am not prepared to say it will help. I think we ought to have regular hearings to see where we stand and allow people to come in and make observations as to what improvements have been made. But the question I ask you directly is if the complete abolition of commercials might be too drastic, do you think there is a halfway measure whereby the advertising would not be aimed at the child and not intended to have the child influence the parent to buy that particular product? Can you answer that?

Mrs. **Sarson**. I think the analogy is really would you allow a salesman in your living room to sell something to a 5-year-old?

Senator **Pastore**. No, I would not.

Mrs. **Sarson**. Then why do you allow him to sell to 5-year-olds in television?

Senator **Pastore**. That has been the fault up to now.

Mrs. **Sarson**. The reason we began was we felt that pressures of the selling was influencing the program, as you have recognized, to a great extent. We have now come to the conclusion over the years, that young children are totally unable to make any consumer judgments.

Senator **Pastore**. I agree with you 100 percent on that. I hope you don't misunderstand me.

Mrs. **Sarson**. We prefer to have 1 hour a week with no commercials than to take halfway measures—

Senator **Pastore**. Now you have given me the answer. If it means they can't devote that amount of time without complete elimination of commercials, then cut the program time. Is that your point?

Mrs. **Sarson**. We would prefer that, yes.

Mrs. **Charren**. We feel that quality programing—it doesn't help at all to have rotten programing. So that if you just had quality programing and there was less of it until you did build up this bank, that the children would be better off.

Senator **Pastore**. I see. So your argument is that if it becomes a question that they can't devote that amount of time without commercials, then cut down their time and do it right.

Mrs. **Sarson**. At the present time they have been devoting incredibly little time to such programing, and I am glad that ABC is prepared to devote more time.

Senator **Pastore**. You read that statement?

Mrs. **Sarson**. Yes, and I attended the conference that ABC set up. I think it is in response to pressure that they decided to increase the time and the feeling we have is that people like ABC won't continue with this unless we have the regulation.

Senator Pastore. In conjunction with this, I have a letter from the legislative assistant of William Stanton of Ohio. It is addressed to the staff director and he sends us a letter that is written by Susan Draper to Mr. Alexander Korn, Consumer Liaison Office, FCC. I am going to read one paragraph . The fact that we cite these cases doesn't mean television affects everybody the same way. But there are instances that become very dramatic and very pertinent and very relevant to what we are talking about here. This is what she says:

"We have a 3-year-old daughter and we have tried to be very careful concerning her exposure to television for many reasons. Last night she was all ready for bed and her father had given her a glass of milk and told her to sit in the living room and he would be with her in a minute. A few moments later, she went back into the kitchen and held her glass toward her father and said, 'eat, daddy, eat.' Then she tried to bite the glass. My husband went into the living room immediately and there on the above-mentioned program, a woman was biting and eating a drinking glass. Later during the program, the same woman ate broken glass and then broke glass on the floor and rolled on it."

Now I mean all we are saying here is that some children may be more impressionable than others. I gave the case yesterday of a young boy who saw a dramatization of a hanging on television and went in the cellar to try it out for himself and stood on a chair and the chair slipped and he hanged himself.

Now, I am not saying that happens every day. But after all, the way television sells soap, it sells a lot of ideas, too.

I want to thank you fine ladies for coming here. You have been very, very helpful and I would hope that, as the Senator says, the FCC is listening and maybe something can be worked out.

Thank you.

Senator Pastore. Mr. William S. Abbott, president of the Foundation To Improve Television, Boston, Mass.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM S. ABBOTT, PRESIDENT OF THE FOUNDATION TO IMPROVE TELEVISION, BOSTON, MASS.

Mr. Abbott. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to introduce myself: I am the Massachusetts Commissioner of it, vice president and general counsel of a real estate developer and real estate investment trust. I appreciate the opportunity to present our views here today of our foundation to your committee.

The Foundation To Improve Television, incorporated in 1969 with the intense interest and personal concern of its national board of directors—I would like to tell you some of our names.

Orville Freeman—I think he is no stranger to the Senator.

Prof. Jerome Kagan, of Harvard, a leading child development psychologist and writer.

Mr. Robert R. Pauley, former president of ABC, and other directors, all of which I am happy to say have taken a very intense and personal interest in the work of the foundation.

We have felt from the time of our inception that we, each one of us in the country, are to blame for allowing television to become a school of violence for our young.

I speak with some trepidation here today, fearing that here on the last day of these hearings, that maybe these hearings too, and the interest generated thereon, like the hearings in 1954 by the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency and the round of juvenile delinquency hearings in 1964, will gradually fade away, and the television industry and government will quietly forget the public expression of concern about the clearly scientifically demonstrated harmful effects of televised violence on our children and that they will continue to operate television entertainment as the private domain of a few people intent on broadcasting for profit at our children's expense.

And I certainly commend you for your recommendation, Mr. Chairman.

If anything is clear by now, here on the fourth day of your hearings, it is that the evidence is now in. The Surgeon General, our Nation's highest official entrusted with the duty to protect the health of our citizenry, and most importantly, our children, has stated that the time is here, now, for action and that the data is sufficient to justify action. A clear and present danger has been demonstrated to your committee, to the Federal Communications Commission, to the television industry, to the parents of children across this land.

What do we do? What action can be taken?

We could wait patiently while the industry, once again, deliberates, promises, and procrastinates, as it has for the past 18 years since the Congress and our citizenry first became alarmed at this problem, and then continues to produce and peddle the same steady diet of murder and mayhem to our children while we all do nothing more than bemoan this "lawless and violent" society, perhaps the most violent of any society in the world today.

Senator PASTORE. Can I interrupt you for a moment?

I am advised that Mr. Julian Burg, and Dr. Leopold Walder and James Bennett want to testify. Are these gentlemen here? Can we know how long you are going to be? I am trying to conclude by 12:30.

Senator PASTORE. All right. Continue, sir.

Mr. ABBOTT. However, over the past two decades, the research, the reports, the congressional hearings have changed nothing. The studies still continue, all the while our children are still—this afternoon, tomorrow, and next week—being force-fed the steady diet of violence.

Apparently the aim of the television industry has been to keep the studies going and then no one can say they don't care. As you know, the violence index of the great mass of television fare for our children is at an all-time high.

We think society has a right of self-defense. We are no longer patient. Specific, concrete action has been taken, action that will require something to be done. We are presently before the Federal Communications Commission with a petition for rulemaking to have the Commission add the following new section to its rules:

"Section 73. Violence and Horror Television Programs.

"(a) An application for construction permit, license, or any other authorization for the operation of a television broadcast station, will not be granted where

> the applicant proposes to follow or continue to follow a policy or practice of broadcasting or permitting the broadcasting of television programs which contain an excessive amount of fictionalized violence and horror during the hours prior to 9:00 p.m.
>
> "(b) The determination whether a particular program comes within the provisions of paragraph (a) of this section depends on the facts of each case. However, the Commission will in any event consider that a program comes within the provisions of paragraph (a) of this section if it contains fictionalized portrayals of killings, beatings, stabbings, stranglings, or any other acts of physical brutality or mental cruelty which, when viewed by the average person, would be considered excessive. or purposes of this provision, the definitions of violence and horror are as follows:
>
> "Violence—the overt expression of force intended to hurt or kill.
>
> "Horror—a painful emotion of fear, dread, abhorrence."

What we are suggesting here is that simply another criteria be added to the license renewal programs. As we all know, licenses are being taken away—as they should be—when criteria are not met in performing in the public interest.

In a carefully researched and extensive legal brief, prepared by one of the outstanding communications law firms in Washington, D.C., we have shown to the Commission that, despite the first amendment to the Constitution and section 326 of the Communications Act of 1934, the Commission has the authority and the responsibility to regulate the amount of violence and horror portrayed on television. The requisite authority is found in the Commission's duty to act in the public health. As a result, the Commission may regulate television programing which endangers the public health.

The substantive legal considerations, which have been researched by leading constitutional lawyers, involve an interplay between the fifth amendment to the Constitution—the right to be free from the deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law—and the first amendment. There is sufficient evidence to now support the finding that the portrayal of excessive violence on television during children's viewing hours is inimical to the mental health of our children.

The Commission now has the power to act with respect to programing content. I quote from a report of the Attorney General's report of 1960:

> "But in any event a review of existing authority indicates that the Commission may, without running afoul of constitutional or statutory safeguards of freedom of speech, give considerable weight to advertising practices and programming in the context of licensing, rulemaking or investigative proceedings. It is true that the statutory provision relating to censorship and the First Amendment delineate the outer limits of the Commission's powers. Yet, within those limits, considerable scope is left for effective regulatory action."

It is clear that Congress, the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and the Commission have recognized that, despite the first amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act, the Commission does possess the power to review programing and penalize those that have broadcast or propose to broadcast certain types of programs by denying them a license in the first instance or refusing to renew an existing license.

Even a cursory review of the above authorities leads to the conclusion that, within the public interest standard, the commission may—and has—condemn certain types of programing without falling afoul of the first amendment and section 326 of the act.

Perhaps it is the puritanical heritage of America, but the Commission has reacted vigorously when broadcasts involved coarse and vulgar language, horse racing in States where illegal unfair treatment of social and religious groups, defamatory attacks, medical diagnosis and treatment, rigged quiz shows, and payola, and, it seems, would also react unfavorably if nudism, sexual descriptions, and four-letter words were rampant on radio and television. Recently, of course, smoking became taboo as well.

We believe that the portrayal of excessive violence and horror is outside the realm of the first amendment. It cannot be seriously claimed that hour after hour of television murder and mayhem is on a parity with the Founding Fathers' concern with potential suppression of political, economic and social idealogy, the raison de'etre of the first amendment.

And may I remind the committee that with respect to our excessive preoccupation with obscenity, obscenity has never been proven harmful, whereas television violence has now been well documented as a menace to the mental health of our children.

Might I add that this emphasis on controlling obscenity, but permitting all kinds of violence is completely reversed in many European countries, and these countries by any standards have markedly less violent societies.

Where television is used in this country as the great babysitter, our children have the right to be free from the daily diet of violence served up by the broadcast industry. In a society where a great number of our mothers are now working to support their families, the solution of the "button" as the means to control the program intake is simply a cop-out, a surrender to the brutalizing of yet another generation.

The rule requested by the Foundation does not ban all television violence, but would curtial such programs during typical children viewing hours—until 9:00 p.m. These are programs during the adult-oriented hours here.

In October of 1970, the Commission acted on our petition by officially stating that the petition would be held in abeyance until the Report of the Surgeon General had been received. That report is now in. We will press for favorable action at the Commission.

We have similarly acted on another front. We believe that where governmental agencies have become the protector of the industries they are supposed to regulate, the courtroom is the last arena where the individual citizen can meet big business and big government and effect change. Through the courts, we hope to make it impossible, or at least unprofitable, to present violence as entertainment during children's viewing hours.

A little over 1 year ago, lawyers representing the Foundation to Improve Television filed an action in the Federal court for the District of Columbia seeking to enjoin sponsors of the program, "Wild, Wild West;" Post-Newsweek Stations, which owns television station WTOP, channel 9; CBA; and the CBS Enterprises, Inc., which syndicates the program; Television Advertising Representatives, Inc., which sells the advertisements for the program; and the Federal Communications Commission, from presenting or allowing the presentation of the rerun, "Wild, Wild West," which has been shown

Monday through Friday on channel 9 in Washington, D.C., at 4:00 p.m., and on Saturday at 5:00 p.m.

The Foundation also requested the court to grant a declaratory judgment that children have a constitutional right under the fifth amendment to be free from the mental harm caused by the viewing of television programs that portray fictional violence.

This landmark case, which will be a precedent for similar actions in every major television market area in the country, will be argued here in the court of appeals within the next couple of months.

In a typical "Wild, Wild West" program on WTOP, monitored by the Foundation, children saw the following:

"Policeman walking along waterfront, strangled by henchmen of gang leaders and left along deserted dock; a threat to blow up a city by use of several small glass pellets; a gang leader killing a professor with a pea shooter and one of the explosive pellets; a girl being abducted while companion is attacked by monkey and then shot at by gang leader using crossbow equipped with lethal devices; the hero, captured by three men, one with a gun. During ride to gang headquarters in specially built stagecoach, neck of man with gun encircled by steel bands strangling him, second pushed out of coach by the hero and third held at gunpoint. While climbing out of coach, hero accosted by gang leader and henchman; hero dropped through trapdoor by gang leader and encased in iron cage. Gang leader goes off to blow up the city; hero terrorized with knife. Hero escapes cage, knocks out two men, escapes; hero fights gangleader's bodyguard, 'knees' him twice and subdues him with karate chop."

That, Mr. Chairman, was one program. This was shown on a daily basis, 6 days a week. The word must have gotten out, because this is a sadistic and violent series being peddled to stations across the country to what must be a growing audience of violence-addicted children; if we are to believe the attached advertisement of Broadcasting magazine, dated February 28, 1972.

Look at this: It states that "The action-charged adventures of America's favorite 19th century secret agents are attracting bigger audiences for stations in every section of the country. Whatever programing was in the time period a year ago, look what happened when the 'Wild, Wild West' undercover agents moved in and took over. Call Viacom for 104 hours of 'Wild, Wild West.' They're real attention getters."

"Increase in homes over year-ago programing;
"Wild, Wild West:
"Up 100 percent in Albany, Ga.;
"Up 69 percent Burlington-Plattsburgh;
"Up 13 percent Charleston, S.C.;
"Up 50 percent, Cleveland;
"Up 15 percent Columbus, Ga.;
"Up 33 percent Eugene, Oreg.;
"Up 6 percent Winston-Salem;
"Up 33 percent Joplin-Pittsburg;
"Up 27 percent Knoxville;
"Up 24 percent Las Vegas;
"Up 75 percent Los Angeles;
"Up 100 percent Memphis"—
and so forth.

This is the kind of "voluntary cooperation" we have come to expect from the television industry.

The first amendment in guaranteeing free speech, does not license anyone to use our airwaves to train the Nation's youth in violence. The Foundation does not expect or hope to become a board of censors. Rather, we hope to further the development of an open and free society by insuring that television broadcasting is not the private domain of people capable of no better entertainment offering them death and destruction, especially when our children are the victims.

Television has an immense potential for reaching children. The possibilities of assisting and enforcing the education process are far-reaching, and the Foundation will seek to encourage such positive programing.

We are developing a program of parent and child, it will be an exciting series, hopefully like that of the Masterpiece Theater coming out of Britain.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, we will continue to fight television broadcasting that is harmful to children through every forum available to us as citizens.

Senator PASTORE. I want to congratulate you on a fine statement and thank you and your organization for your dedication to improving television.

I want to thank you very much for coming.

Senator PASTORE. Julian Burg, please.

STATEMENT OF JULIAN P. BURG, PRESIDENT, OUTDOOR GAME COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

Mr. BURG. My name is Julian P. Burg, President of Outdoor Game Council of the U.S.A., located in New York City.

I would like to divide my 3 minutes into two parts.

We are interested in developing a program to provide suitable play environment for children, the kind we had when we were kids, but it seems to have disappeared of late for which we can all cite many reasons for.

Included in this is the area of free play; many of the major and important attitudes and character-logical imprints, et cetera, that make for maturity in an adult to rise and develop and mature.

The point I would like to make about the Outdoor Game Council is simply these programs that we are talking about and which I have been working on for 6 years portray real children in real motion, in real exhilaration and action and adventure rather than the nonsense which substitutes for these qualities.

I am here spontaneously this morning, and I would like to plant a certain thought that I don't think has been paid any attention to as far as I am concerned.

Sitting in the various TV stations and radio stations around the country are men or women who are known as the traffic people. They are the ones who put in the commercial 20 seconds, 8-second spots and the 60-second spots whenever there is an opening.

In the broadcast industry business, there is a concept known as "run of station" which means the client buys a certain block number of spots to be scheduled by the television or the radio station as the spot vacancies occur.

I don't believe there is any attention given to the content of the spots that fall into the ROS scheduling.

As a result, many things that appear on television in terms of the actual commercial content—I am not referring to program content—have a very subtle insidious effect just as much as "Wild, Wild West" or any other program concerned with violence.

I almost have a feeling where it is obvious and apparent to all that the kind of programs we have been talking about this morning and for years, is self-evident that perhaps our children should not be watching them.

There is literally no control by the parent to avoid these insertions of sexually scintillating advertising or other advertisings that lead the child to believe that pills are the beginning of happiness and pleasure and what have you.

It is a serious thing for me, father of three children, as yourselves, sir, with other children to sit and watch a woman between 8:00 and 8:30 some evening taking a bath on television. I have no objection to women bathing, but I certainly think that the way she is taking a bath on TV—I don't mean to be facetious—between 8:00 and 8:30 at night is not television content for 6-, 7-, 8-, 9-year-old children to see.

I can go into much more extreme examples of how the ROS, the run of the station scheduling of commercial content, in that very quick and frequently repeated as the ROS schedule runs, its vital spots can have a bad effect, an exciting effect, and exciting kind of effect that has nothing to do with the ability of the child to assimilate, to evaluate, to understand, to handle.

And many questions come up in the mind of the child that frankly no adult ever expected to hear out of the lips of a 7-year-old person.

I say to you, sir, that the people who sit and put the spots in without viewing the spots are as wrong or guilty, if I can be as extreme as anybody, who purposely buys a half hour show, if you will, of violence or other things which we know do not extend or enhance development of a child.

They are watching these 20-second spots—watch your next 2-hour movie some night and see for example advertisements for movies that we know are R-rated or perhaps even X-rated in the middle of David Copperfield.

What is the child to do with that 20-second content except to become furious at the wrong point with the wrong content and wrong ability to handle such curiosity.

I consider insertions of these commercial spots a very serious misuse of the ability of the subjective person and his ability to use his subjective responsibility correctly and something should be thought and discussed so that there be a methodology whereby training, information, and a careful indoctrination of these people could take place.

They don't know and I would prefer to think that they don't know, rather than they don't care.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Pastore**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Pastore**. Mr. Bennett, please.

STATEMENT OF JAMES V. BENNETT, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER BROADCASTING

Mr. **Bennett**. Mr. Chairman, I am James V. Bennett, president of the National Association for Better Broadcasting. I also was the former director of the Federal Prison Bureau and have long been interested in this problem of violence and techniques of crime that are displayed on television.

Senator **Pastore**. And you have had the experience too.

Mr. **Bennett**. I have had the good fortune of being a constituent of yours from Rhode Island who believes you have brought new enthusiasm to me for your willingness to devote your time and energy to this matter.

I wanted to say one word, if you please, about our work. We monitor television programs that are broadcast throughout the country and we publish from time to time a guide to listening.

This guide contains an assessment of the various programs on television. These assessments are made by a committee of our members and our directors and represent what we think is an objective viewpoint.

We devote considerable time, especially to children's programs.

I hope the Chair will give me permission later on to file a prepared statement in which I will include this.

Unfortunately, our directors have not had time to go over the whole program as yet.

Senator **Pastore**. If I may interrupt, you do have that permission. We will keep the record open for it but do not let it take too long.

(The following information was subsequently received for the record:)

STATEMENT OF JAMES V. BENNETT, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER BROADCASTING

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I first want to express to you the appreciation of the members and directors of our Association for your invitation to submit this statement for your consideration. Some of you are familiar with our work and background. For those of you who may not be so informed I say only that we are incorporated as a non-profit educational organization; that we are the oldest such national listener-viewer association in the United States; and that we are guided and controlled by a board of directors largely comprised of nationally recognized professionals in the fields of law, education, religion, psychiatry, social welfare, journalism, and mental and physical health. Since 1949 we have been actively engaged in efforts to reduce the deluge of gratuitous violence and brutality that has saturated the television programing most viewed by children in this country.

In order to keep this statement as brief as possible, we will not attempt herein to add to the vast weight of evidence which has been presented to you concerning the adverse impact of excessive violence in TV entertainment. You have already been overwhelmed. You know that excessive violence in programing for children constitutes a vital social issue. We believe that you share, along with those who have appeared before you in behalf of the public interest, the conviction expressed by Chairman Dean Burch of the Federal Communications Commission at the beginning of his testimony. He said that there is no longer a question of *whether* something should be done about the impact of televised violence on children. The Surgeon General himself, the man in charge of these entire investigations into the effects of TV violence, testified that the scientific research leaves no doubt that the causal relationship between televised violence and anti-social behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action.

We are in full-hearted agreement with Chairman Burch that the question before you, before the Commission, and before all of us, is *what* should be done, and *by whom*. It is your responsibility, we believe, to provide an answer regarding whatever actions are advisable through Congressional edict or Congressional influence. You have already provided an impetus in the right direction by holding these hearings and by bringing the proceedings into the public spotlight. We commend the Committee and the persons who have testified in these hearings in the public behalf. Much can be accomplished through the pressure of public opinion, even though the true depth of public opinion related to violence for children has never been tabulated and exposed.

But however important it may be, the molding of public opinion is essentially a *byproduct* of the basic role of your Communications Subcommittee in the area of television violence. As we understand it, your primary function is to determine whether or not the problem calls for some form of Congressional action and then, if Congressional involvement *is* required, to implement and recommend whatever form this action should take.

We do not believe that further legislation is needed in order to protect America's children from the adverse effects of violence in TV entertainment. So far as Congressional involvement is concerned, we believe the solution lies primarily within the policies and practices of the Federal Communications Commission. Either through edict or persuasion Congress must impress upon the Commission that it must act decisively to protect the public interest in the matter of television violence. It is now apparent to professionals engaged in social science research that this has gone beyond a matter of public interest into an area of public *necessity*. The FCC can no longer evade its responsibility to act. It has the authority and obligation to do so under applicable provisions within the Communications Act and under rulings and admonishments of the Supreme Court and various federal district courts. *Now*, under the overwhelming weight of scientific research findings, the Commission must take positive action.

Within this preceding framework and obvious necessity we offer what hopefully will be our major contribution to these hearings:

The National Association for Better Broadcasting urges your Committee to use whatever means are within your power to induce the Federal Communications Commission to adopt policies and procedures which give full and proper weight to the matter of program content in all new and renewal applications for broadcast licenses. These policies and procedures should apply particularly in comparative hearings wherein they are challenges to incumbent licensees and in situations where petitions have been filed to deny the renewal applications of incumbent licensees.

The direct effect of such action would be twofold: (1) it would provide the citizens of any community with an effective and relatively simple way of rejecting broadcasters who continue to be flagrantly irresponsible in the matter of excessively violent programing; and (2) it would provide acces into the television industry for potential broadcasters who are willing and able to provide higher standards of program service.

The indirect effect would be to alert new and incumbent broadcasters that they will be held accountable for questionable program service in their communities Because it will halt the automatic license renewals of many broadcasters who have engaged in irresponsible program practices, such a policy affirmation by the Commission will have an immediate strong persuasive effect on these broadcasters to take a hard second look at the violent films and series that have been their staple program fare.

Such policies and procedures are completely in accord with mandates to the Commission from the United States Supreme Court and from federal courts of appeal in various instances. The Communications Act provides all necessary authority. Such policies and procedures involve no infringements of the First Amendment. They avoid the misgivings Chairman Burch has voiced concerning the perils of prior censorship.

The overall results of FCC adoption of the suggested policies and procedures would include a substantial move toward reestablishment of responsibility for television program service with the individual broadcast licensee. This is a fundamental principle of the Communications Act, but none but the most naive would maintain that this principle is not violated flagrantly in practices which are common throughout the industry.

It is obvious that the return to moderation in televised violence cannot be directly controlled through legislation or regulation. Policies and procedures such as these we suggest can, however, establish conditions which foster creativity and responsibility in the production and airing of TV programing.

There is no valid reason why the Commission cannot include in its license application form a question concerning the broadcaster's policy toward the portrayal of violence. Nor is there any valid reason why the Commission cannot inform the license applicant that excessive violence, particularly in programs most accessible to children, may be regarded as a "serious deficiency" in the station's past performance. There is no valid reason why the Commission cannot add these factors to its considerations of the qualifications of license applicants. On the other hand, there are compelling reasons why the Commission must be induced to take action such as we suggest. Today, with the unchallengeable evidence of harm to the mental and physical health of millions of children, the Commission must act—on its own volition or on Congressional order—to protect the wellbeing of our society from television's onslaught of gratuitous crime, sadism, and brutality.

Such action by the Commission does not require that it formulate or adopt a precise definition of the term "excessive violence." It does not require the establishment of any generalized measurement criteria by any governmental body or agency. Nor does it require any formal coordinated "acceptance" or compliance on the part of that disembodied entity known to us as the "television industry."

In cases where the nature and quantity of program violence is to be a factor in license determination, such determinations must be made on the basis of the past performance and/or the proposed future programing of *each station individually.* We must deny to broadcasters their defense of irresponsible practices on the ground that TV violence is "an industry problem."

Our proposal is eminently timely. Two directly related hearings are currently being processed by the Commission, Docket 19154 which deals with the establishment of criteria to be considered in comparative hearings, and Docket 19153 which is concerned with criteria in situations where license challenges do not exist. Oral hearings on Docket 19154 are scheduled for early in May.

There is, of course, another important and obvious area in which your Committee can make positive progress to alleviate the menace of excessive violence in TV entertainment. You can use your influence to make sure that Congress provides far more substantial funding for the public broadcasting service. The noncommercial stations have been the fountainhead for most of the creative programing for children developed during the past several years.

It would be a fatal error, however, to disregard the nature and quality of programming on commercial stations because public broadcasting is beginning to fill voids left open by commercial broadcasters.

You will note that in our recommendations we have suggested no negotiations or compromises that will permit token gestures on the part of the television industry. On February twenty-eighth of this year the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters completed the twentieth year of its existence. The farcial nature of the enforcement procedures set forth in this document is apparent from the state of TV program service which has made it necessary to conduct massive investigations into the impact of excessive violence and to involve your Committee in these hearings. The conditions we have now *grew* under the so-called self-regulation of broadcasters giving lip service to code provisions supposedly protecting the welfare of children.

You have heard the president of American Broadcasting Companies, a vice president of the American Broadcasting Company, a vice president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and a vice president of the National Broadcasting describe in detail the measures taken by each network to make certain that no untoward violence slips by the impressive body of censors employed by each of these networks. You heard Mr. Elton Rule, ABC president, say that his network's policy prohibits the use of violence for the sake of violence. He told you that ABC's "adventure oriented" programs concentrate on the solution of crime and on the apprehension of those guilty of precipitating violence. These programs, he said, stress the solution rather than the portrayal of the crime. He pointed to "The FBI" and "Mod Squad" series as excellent examples of what he was telling you. Have you gentlemen watched these programs? Both illustrate the commission of crime in explicit detail. If Mr. Rule's claim that these series portray law enforcement in a professional light is true, the professional standards of our law enforcement bodies require drastic alteration to save our society from utter chaos. We also assure you that the ABC network and the ABC owned-and-operated stations have always aired many programs which use violence for the sake of violence and that these programs are continuing. You need only do some selective viewing of your own TV sets to verify this fact.

Mr. Rule has been making almost identical public statements for years, and so have executives of CBS and NBC. You will recall that John A. Schneider, president of the CBS Broadcast Group, spoke to you about the elimination of the discredited "super hero" cartoons from the CBS network schedule. He did not, however, refer to the fact that many of these brutal and ugly series which reflect totalitarian doctrines in a favorable light were produced or fostered by CBS itself . . . And here there is a most important additional point: *Neither Mr. Schneider nor any other network spokesman has told you what has happened to the hundreds of hours of extremely violent animated super-hero programing that is no longer the staple product of Saturday morning network schedules.* All or most of these programs are still in circulation in the syndication markets here and abroad, and they are still being aired by broadcasters who are using no more caution regarding the wellbeing of child audiences than the networks used when they originated these programs in the first place. As far as we know—and we believe it to be true—all three of the networks are still reaping a bountiful harvest throught the distribution of many program series which they themselves have banned from their own networks because of unacceptable program content. You will recall that Chairman Burch warned in his statement that many of the more violent series of the 1960's are now in syndicated rerun.

Chairman Burch has expressed his deep concern with the nature and quality of television programs for children. We do not, however, share his implied reliance on turning to the "industry" to find the solution to the problem facing you in these hearings. The industry created this problem, and in so doing it has accumulated hundreds of millions of dollars in profits. In one sentence Mr. Burch said: "Joint consultation is essential—among the networks, and among broadcasters generally. The NAB is an obvious focal point." In the next sentence he added: "The Television Code recognizes, at least on paper, broadcasters' special responsibility toward children." Note the phrase: "*at least on paper*"*!* This is an eloquent recognition of the actual substance of a document that is insignificant except that it deludes the public, and some of the more naive among the public's representatives, into the belief that industry self-regulation protects the public from irresponsible program practices.

When the public requires regulations to protect itself against the hazards of traffic on the public highways, it does not leave the promulgation and enforcement of these regulations to the violators of safety principles commonly acknowledged by responsible citizens. Nor does the public seek its protection through a conference whose participants have massive vested interests which depend on the perpetuation of conditions which disregard the safety of the general public.

We assure you that the focal point for actions that must be taken regarding television violence is that point that is most willing and able to act decisively in the public interest. That focal point most certainly is not the National Association of Broadcasters. The NAB is a vigorous and powerful promoter of, and spokesman for, special interests which very often are contrary to the general public interests.

What we are saying is that the Federal Communications Commission needs no further conferences with the television industry about what needs to be done about excessive violence in TV entertainment. Such conferences and discussions have been going on for years, and always with the same results; glowing statements of responsibility and of reforms in progress by industry spokesmen, and dismal performance on the part of all three networks and hundreds of broadcasters whom these spokesmen purport to represent. The United States Surgeon General has told you that the time has come for broadcasters to be "put on notice" regarding the damage they are inflicting upon children through their preoccupation with violence. Dr. Steinfield also stated that "*no action* in this social area

> is a form of action: it is acquiescence in the continuation of the present level of televised violence entering American homes."
>
> The Commission can act now. It needs nothing more in the way of authority, nor does it need more evidence than it has at hand.
>
> That part of the industry that would perpetuate the present level of violence, however, needs nothing more than conferences, discussions, and further investigations which will delay any action by the FCC and which will confuse and frustrate the public.
>
> The United States Supreme Court has ruled unanimously that the right of viewers and listeners is paramount over the interests of broadcasters. We urge your Committee to use all available means in an effort to place upon broadcasters the burden of proof that their programing is not adversely affecting the welfare of the children who view it.
>
> There is, of course, a measure of parental responsibility involved in the selection of programs that children are permitted to watch, but the standard industry response: "If you don't like it, turn it off!" is a callous evasion of broadcaster responsibility. When a station flashes on the screen the NAB's "Seal of Good Practice" parents have the right to assume that the station itself adheres to the principles of responsible programing. Furthermore, the public has been confused about the damaging effects of excessive violence on their children. A parent can rationally ask: "If violence is really harmful to children, why is there so much of it in TV entertainment?" The parent can make the comfortable conclusion that because there is so much it must be all right. And we must not forget that the most influential of all media of communication is in the hands of those who have acquired hundreds of millions of dollars in profits from televised violence. From these facts none of us can escape the conclusion that the informed professional representatives of the public—primarily Congress and its agencies—must take a decisive hand in reducing the menace of brutality and "violence-for-fun" in TV programing. It is of course important that the public become "educated" in this area of its interest, but the time for remedial action is now and the public's representatives must act in the public's behalf. If a product is poisonous we cannot wait for each citizen to discover that fact through the process of personal trial and error.

Mr. BENNETT. Some contacts I have made with our directors indicate they are hardly ecstatic about the report but we realize we need progress in this area and this committee has been most helpful in printing this up.

We think and believe as you have suggested, Mr. Chairman, that there must be some kind of a followup, some mechanism developed by which we can continue to focus on the dangers of this program. We have been toying with various ideas.

Being a citizens group we think perhaps we can unite these various citizens groups into a single organization that will continue to carry on their own programs but in addition to that be able to unite and maintain the pressure upon the broadcasting systems, on the code system, on the FCC and try and reduce some of this television violence.

We think we have been successful in doing something to that end already. If we can simply unite these people and develop a sort of organization like Common Cause perhaps, or like a Ralph Nader group, we can perhaps bring pressure upon the broadcasting agencies that will assure better programs.

Also, Mr. Chairman, we join with Mr. Abbott's organizations and others in court cases. Just now we have in court—we are a party to a suit protesting the relicensing of station KTTV in Los Angeles and we have other stations in mind that we would like to bring into court to determine whether their stations should be relicensed.

Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PASTORE. Thank you so much, Mr. Bennett.

Next, Leopold Walder of Greenbelt, Maryland. Mr. Walder? You know you are getting the second bite of the apple.

STATEMENT OF LEOPOLD WALDER, GREENBELT, MD.

Mr. WALDER. Thank you, I am Leopold Walder. I live in Greenbelt, Md. Thank you for letting me return.

I grew up a few miles away from Rhode Island and I remember you when you were Governor and I remember you with pleasure. Well, I think there is room for saying a few nice things.

It was the testimony of the TV executives yesterday that impels me to return today.

Senator PASTORE. Good.

Mr. WALDER. I am very pleased with our grasp of the essentials behind the report of the Surgeon General. I am worried about other people's nongrasp of the essentials.

The Surgeon General's report as published has been seriously questioned by a number of responsible people, especially by some 69 researchers who contributed the data and I am one of those.

The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee was selected in an unfortunate way. Some members of the committee might be viewed as having had conflict of interest and while all of the members of the committee were generally competent in the field of research there were not enough people, if any, who were particularly competent in that particular, very specialized kind of research that your activities depend on.

The report was written in a manner that perhaps is open to suspicion. Perhaps the employees of the TV industry were too influential in writing crucial parts of that report.

The report as written is judged inaccurate and misleading by knowledgeable scientists.

The discussions at these hearings, while occasionally more accurate than the report itself, have not had any important impact on the press and, therefore, on the people. They are still saying that television violence affects only some children. This is not true.

As demonstrated—we have demonstrated that the printed report is having an unfortunate effect. As I said, the report is judged inaccurate, that it has distorted findings, it has not reported relevant findings, it fabricates without evidence other factors, so-called third variables, parental concerns, and so forth. It fabricates without evidence other factors so the essential findings have been obscured.

The report, therefore, is misleading. Its statements provides those parents and others responsible for children's development with dangerous information and it allows those people who are responsible for the content of TV on their stations and their networks to have a way out of their responsibility.

The discussions at these hearings occasionally come closer to the truth, thanks to you, really. However, the printed report remains accepted as the official document of our country. We have asked that in the service of our society that this report be rewritten, that a small specifically competent group of knowledgeable scientists, perhaps assembled by the National Academy of Sciences, should rewrite the official printed documents.

The time for action has arrived, as you have noted the Surgeon General said; but what action? Without an accurate report we do not know.

I do not want to imply that no action can be taken now. We understand enough so we can go ahead on many of these excellent suggestions. But as a definitive statement it is lacking.

As I said, the testimony of the TV executive yesterday shows that the inadequacy of the report will allow them to damage our society and I might say that this report, in conclusion, should demonstrate that the FCC has a direct responsibility to the mental health of our society.

Senator Pastore. Well, it was because of the questions that you raise, Mr. Walder, that I insisted that Dr. Berkowitz, Dr. Lefkowitz and Dr. Liebert come before the committee. That is the reason I brought the researchers here. So that they could tell in their own words, why they were dissatisfied either with conservatism or the cautiousness of the report.

I think they did render a service.

Mr. Walder. Yes.

Senator Pastore. I want to say that the news media has been very generous in this matter. I hope we have accomplished something.

Mr. Walder. Or the inaccuracies.

Senator Pastore. Everything was spelled out, spelled out by your colleagues, as you know. Dr. Liebert and Dr. Berkowitz and today by Dr. Bogart.

Mr. Walder. Yes.

Senator Pastore. I think it is there now. It is there now for everyone to see—the FCC, the Surgeon General, the Secretary of HEW, this Subcommittee, the Cogress. I would hope the House of Representatives would become engaged in this as well.

This isn't alone our responsibility and whatever needs to be done I hope that within the limits of the law and limits of the Constitution we can do.

Mr. Walder. Perhaps may I request this, that the Surgeon General I think announced that Dr. Sigler is going to issue a report. I would hope that that report should tell the parents what they need to know, that all of their children will be affected by the violent content.

Senator Pastore. We will be in constant communication with the Surgeon General. You may be assured of that.

Mr. Walder. Not with a predisposed one.

Senator Pastore. You or anyone in the scientific community who feels that they can make a contribution is at liberty to do so. We heard from many distinguished people in this area who had no connection with that study or the research and the report. There were members of our scientific community who have engaged themselves in this area. It is a very sensitive and very important area. I hope that we won't drop it here.

You had to admit as I sit here as a layman, as a member of the legislative branch of government, we have some hard problems to solve. You will agree to that, won't you?

Mr. Walder. Yes. They were here yesterday. Thank you.

Senator Pastore. Senator Baker regrets that he was unable to be present at the hearing today because it was necessary for him to be out of the city. However, he would like to reserve the right to submit to any of the witnesses.

I thought you all should know that.

I want to say at this juncture that maybe we haven't satisfied everyone with these hearings. We did not start out to do that. What we try to do was to serve the public interest and live up to our responsibility to the people of this country.

There has been a tremendous amount of cooperation, a lot of give and take. I declare the hearing at recess, and I hope that something good will come out of our hearings.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee hearing was adjourned.)

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES, LETTERS, AND STATEMENTS

MARCH 22, 1972.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: I'm enclosing a letter I wrote to Howard Eaton of Ogilvy and Mather with whom I have been in contact concerning children's television.

As I re-read the letter, I feel it is relevant to the current hearings on children's television. I hope you will be able to include it in the record.

Sincerely,

ROSE K. GOLDSEN,
Program Adviser.

Enclosure.

NOVEMBER 13, 1971.

HOWARD EATON, Jr.
Senior Vice President,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR HOWARD EATON: You are really a dear fellow. And your heart is in the right place. For both these reasons, I decided not to take you up on your offer to call you collect, but to content myself instead with this letter.

I appreciate your having sent me your talk, which I read with great interest. Repeat: your heart is in the right place, but I do not agree with your basic assumptions. Or, to put it more accurately, *you* do not follow through your own assumptions.

1. Television Educates.—You are aware that television is a powerful means for education—perhaps the most powerful. This is the fundamental point which must guide our thinking as we try to work out public policy for the medium.

But what is "education?" We use the same word to mean at least two different things. There is explicit instruction—the kind of stuff we get in school. Then there is what we social scientists call *socialization.* This refers to the very subtle sort of implicit learning and teaching that goes on when—for example—little girls learn the times-tables by rope-jumping rhymes: when we learn grammar or our regional accents without being aware of it or explicitly taught. We learn our sex-roles this way: our ethnic identities, national identifications, our group loyalties, many of our basic attitudes and values. All this through implicit, perhaps even non-cognitive processes.

Socialization comes through a mixture of images, affective cues, models, reality-testing, and the like. We really do not know much about the process. But we *do* know that it is based on continuing and long-term exposure: it has to do with the legitimacy of the source; with some kind of emotional relationship to it. We *do* know that this kind of implicit learning is what makes us the social beings we are. Much more so than explicit, didactic instruction.

This is the most important point of departure in understanding television. Television enters our homes, engages in a daily, one-to-one relation with all of us, especially our children. As Urie Bronfenbrenner says, it becomes a member of the family. As such it plays a powerful role in the socialization especially of our children.

2. What is "Children's Programming?"—You are also aware that this category is mainly useful to broadcasters. Children watch everything and anything on television. They by no means confine themselves to so-called "children's programming." When we think about a television policy for our children, we have to think about *all* television.

3. "Children's Programming" Today is Pretty Lousy Stuff.—I do not have to go into detail for you. You are aware of it perhaps even more than I am. But here is where I depart somewhat from your concerns. As a television-viewer, I deplore the level of the junk that is programmed for most of our viewing hours.

But that is only *my taste*. As a citizen (to paraphrase Voltaire) I would fight to the death to defend the right of those who like that sort of thing to have it programmed.

4. *We all Seek Just Ways To Improve the Level of Television Programs.*—Yes. But what do we mean by "improve?" Many of us—and many of my own colleagues—mean to upgrade the content. Make it all mostly to our own liking—yours and mine.

When I say "upgrade" I do not mean programming should conform to my taste. (After all, my taste is rather esoteric. I'm a highbrow. But my mother likes Liberace.) I would be just as opposed to a steady diet of highbrow television as I am now opposed to a steady diet of biff-bang-bop "entertainment" television. (And, to abandon for the moment, the concept of "entertainment" television: when I turn on the seven o'clock news, no matter which station I turn to I get the same cut-and-paste job from the wire services. I should be just as opposed to program policy that gave me over each of the channels only the kind of news that would please readers of *Commentary, The New York Review* and *The Public Interest*.)

5. *Television Is a Natural Monopoly.*—You are well aware of this fact. Until technology rescues us from it, we must face up to the limitation of the medium which means that whatever goes on the tube keeps something else off. Your solution is to build up a fourth, public educational network. That could help—but just a little. Only because it would open the door just ever so slightly to the opportunity for variation. (I think of what our culture might be like if our country had started out with a technological limitation that confined us to no more than three printing presses. It would have helped—but not very much—to have set up a fourth.)

6. *The Issue: Variation or Homogeneity.*—It is this issue of homogeneous or varied content that we should be directing our attention to. I am just as against a government body dictating public taste as you are. But I am equally against any other kind of body doing the same thing. And this is the situation we face today. No matter which channel you turn to at almost any hour of the day, you get the same kind of formula "show." It is this limited gamut of formulas which is socializing our next generation of American citizens. *All in the same way.*

We must find some way to vary television fare—to allow alternative images and views of life and statements of problems and presentation of motivations and values and attitudes to enter our homes and cuddle up to our children and widen the margins of the images that are socializing them. Setting up *instructional* TV will not solve the problem.

This is not just a reflection of my *taste*. Here I have to become a bit academic to develop my point.

7. *How Does Social Change Occur?*—Any society faces the problem stated by Thomas Jefferson when he said we need a revolution every twenty years. I think that what he meant by this is that even within one generation, power tends to concentrate. Those who wield the power, and their gatekeepers, tend to entrench themselves and protect their positions. To the extent that they succeed, public access to alternative viewpoints and public statements of alternative issues or ways of looking at them are limited—limited by the very people who are satisfied with things-as-they-are, the very people who have a vested interest in cutting off serious consideration of any alternative arrangements. (This is not always deliberate: the shoe doesn't pinch *them* and they often are bewildered by those who claim their feet hurt.)

An open society such as ours tries to equalize this naturally inequitable situation. A free press is one very important tool in doing so. We try—by law and by our cultural values—to guarantee that our media of communication state the full range of our country's public life and public issues and ways of thinking and cultural life-styles.

We usually think of this mainly in terms of the issues and arguments and conflicts in our explicitly political institutions. But the issue is just as acute when it comes to styles of life, ways of thinking, values and attitudes and images of our social system and how functions and *who we are*—a full presentation to the public of the great cultural mosaic that makes up The United States of America. Only if we all have an opportunity to know and emphasize with the ways of life and manners of thinking and living and loving and procreating and dying of all our cultural groups—many times different from and even at odds with "the conventional wisdom"—do we, as a public, have a chance to *consider fairly* the legitimacy of alternative social ways and social forms. It is only on the basis of such fair consideration that social change has a chance to occur.

8. *Television Legitimizes.*—Because of television's vast audience, because it enters our homes and socializes our children, because it is important, because it is approved, because it is run by respected people, because it is manned by glamour figures—for these and a variety of reasons, television legitimizes what it broadcasts. In this sense (among others) the medium *is* the message. At least, the medium contributes heavily to the impact of the message. (If you read the story in poorly typed manuscript, that's one thing; if you see it produced on TV, that's another.)

Unless that medium allows alternative images to have a chance for equivalent legitimation, then those alternative images—always at a disadvantge *vis-a-vis* the conventional wisdom—suffer a disadvantage that is infinitely compounded by their exclusion from the tube.

9. *Variation Again: What Gets On the Tube and What Doesn't.*—We guarantee a free press to ensure that social and sociological and political and religious variations have an equal chance to be listed on the "agenda" of our society for fair consideration.

We are too accustomed to thinking of this problem as referring only or mainly to politics and political issues. And we get hung up on equal time and the fairness doctrine and the personal attack doctrine. Important, yes. But only one part, one very small part of the issue. The invisible two-thirds of the iceberg has to do with the varied cultural images and life-styles and sense-of-self and world-views and ideas about human nature and human motivation that form the basis or core of our ability *to know who we are* as a people, to know how our social system works for all of us, to understand and empathize with those whose lives are normally remote from our own experience. Popular culture is very important in our education—education in my sense of the word—education that socializes more than instructs.

Television gives us this great opportunity to know ourselves and each other. But we are not availing ourselves of it. The tragedy lies not only in the opportunity lost. It lies—perhaps more important—in that we are getting a homogenized, a levelled, a standardized view of our own culture, daily legitimized by TV.

If you sat here in South America, as I do, perhaps you would be more keenly aware of what I mean. The entire continent is saturated with the homogenized view of American culture presented by American television. I turn on my set and I see The Man From Chimp; Perry Mason; Ironside; Family Affair; Bonanza; Mission Impossible; The Brady Bunch; Tarzan; Lassie; The Three Stooges . . . and so on. Plus an infinite number of those same animated cartoons that liven our Saturday morning children's ghetto in the States. I just returned from a trip that took me to Recife (Brazil). This is one of the most economically depressed areas of the whole continent. They buy the very cheapest of our programs. I saw, for example, Doctor Kildare and Rin Tin Tin—but ten and fifteen year old films whose technical inadequacy compounded the cultural insult both to us and to the Brazilians. It outrages me that so many of my South American friends are being bombarded by these images of our culture. This is the kind of *socialization* they are getting without any opportunity to introduce some slight correction factor based on first-hand experience. And certainly our exported television does not provide its own correction factor.

My trip took me also to Lima. There I gave a University lecture to an audience made up of professors and graduate students, many of them in the social sciences. In the ensuing discussion from the floor, a professor of Anthropoly (who had done his graduate work abroad in the U.S. and France) prefaced his remarks by a comment to this effect: "In the United States *everyone knows* that your culture is much more homogeneous than our cultures in Peru. Here we have so many variations of people and life styles. . . . But in your country you have cultural homogeneity."

This is an astonishing comment. In our country we have 220 million people (Peru has about 12 million). The entire country of Peru could be compared with—say—the New York Metropolitan area. And I do not have to tell *you* about the cultural variations in only that little corner of our country.

Now, how could such an educated individual—and educated in the social sciences, at that—manage to maintain his image of a homogeneous U.S. culture? Luckily, I do not have to answer that question in detail. All I have to say—and I say it with full confidence—is that his exposure to American television does not in any way force him to confront this contradiction.

Well, I've rambled on, haven't I. I shall summarize only by stressing that unless we recognize the two different kinds of "education" I mentioned at the start of this letter, we shall not face up to the fundamental issues in working out a policy for American television. *All* television "educates," not just so-called "educational television." Our problem is to find a way to *vary the fare*. To give an equal chance for the legitimation provided by this important socializing medium to *all* our modes of thinking, images of the world, life styles, sense of self, values, attitudes, ideas about human nature and human motivation and the human condition (and also, of course, public issues) that are today characteristic of the great mosaic of American culture. Plus those that are only beginning to emerge—that should have a chance to be placed on the agenda of our public culture, to be considered, to ge given an opportunity to enter our cultural mix, changing it—if they prove viable; dropping by the wayside if they do not.

Cordially,

ROSE K. GOLDSEN,
Program Adviser.

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES K. ATKIN, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, MICH.

With the Surgeon General's recent conclusion that televised violence is causally related to anti-social behavior among young viewers, the question arises as to the possible remedies for this problem. The evidence presented here will provide an indication of the extent to which parents are involved in minimizing the adverse effects of violent portrayals on television, as an input to decision-makers concerned with calculating the amount of responsibility that can be expected of the the television industry, the government, the school, and the family.

Although many people have argued that it is the parents who must bear the main responsibility for making sure that their children are not harmed by television violence, there has been little research evidence regarding the steps that they take. This paper describes several facets of parental mediation of television violence:

(1) restrictions on exposure to violent shows
(2) viewing with the child during violent programing
(3) interpretation of TV violence for the child
(4) teaching the child not to act aggressively

First, the sources of the evidence will be briefly cited. Much of the research data were gathered by McLeod, Atkin, and Chaffee during an investigation that is reported in two chapters of Volume III of the Technical Reports; the findings discussed here were not included in these chapters, which dealt primarily with the relationship between violence viewing and aggressive behavior. Other evidence comes from a recent study by Atkin that was conducted before and after the Surgeon General's January announcement that a link was demonstrated between viewing and anti-social behavior. Finally, some of the data presented by Lyle and Hoffman in Volume IV of the Technical Reports will also be cited.

All of the findings were gathered by survey techniques, involving questionnaire responses of children and interviews with their mothers in many instances. The McLeod, Atkin and Chaffee study included 473 seventh and tenth graders in Prince Georges County, Maryland, and 151 sixth and ninth graders and their mothers in Middleton, Wisconsin. The Atkin study involved 352 students between first and eighth grade in East Lansing, Michigan, and 115 mothers of 195 of these children (more than half of the mothers had more than one child in the sample, and interviewers asked separate questions for both the older and younger child in each of these families). The Lyle and Hoffman investigation dealt with almost 1,600 students in the first, sixth, and tenth grades in southern California schools, along with interviews with the mothers of the 274 first graders.

Across the three samples in Maryland, Wisconsin, and Michigan, there is a slight tendency for the middle class to be overrepresented; the California study included a highly representative cross-section of the population, with many Blacks and Chicanos.

RESTRICTIONS ON EXPOSURE TO VIOLENT SHOWS

First, the child seldom has complete control over the programs that he is allowed to see. In the Maryland, Wisconsin, and Michigan studies, the children were asked: "Who in your family has the most to say about which programs you are allowed to watch?"

[In percent]

	Michigan	Wisconsin	Maryland
Child	19	18	22
Parents	51	56	50
Siblings	13	10	12
Combination (i.e., mother or child)	17	16	16

In addition, Lyle and Hoffman found that mothers of California first graders reported that they decided which programs the child could watch in 69% of the cases studied.

When Wisconsin mothers were asked the question about who has the most to say about program viewing, a somewhat higher percentage of parental control was obtained, as might be expected.

The data also suggest that the parents are not always aware of the television fare that their children are exposing themselves to. In Wisconsin and Michigan, both mothers and children were asked if the mother always knew what programs the child was watching on TV. Again, the mothers claim to be monitoring viewing behavior more often than the child perceives.

Mother always knows what child is watching:

[In percent]

	Michigan		Wisconsin	
	Child report	Mother report	Child report	Mother report
Yes	37	70	41	69
No	63	30	59	31

Some parents censor the type of programs that the child is allowed to view, although they are more often concerned about "sexy" and "adult" programming than "violent" programming.

Programs that parents don't let child watch:

[In percent]

	Michigan		Wisconsin	
	Child report	Mother report	Child report	Mother report
Can watch anything [1]	47	39	66	51
Certain shows not allowed [1]	53	61	34	49
4 categories suggested to respondent, more than 1 could be marked:				
Sexy shows			21	32
Adult shows			11	22
Violent shows			3	22
Crime shows			3	14

[1] For specific shows, see table 1.

These findings indicate that the older children, those beyond the fifth or sixth grades, can vary often choose whatever programs they want. Among those who experience restrictions on exposure, the types of programs that are censored tend to be those dealing with sex rather than violence. Another big factor accounting for viewing controls is the lateness of a program's display time; when the Michigan children were asked why they couldn't watch shows on the list, they most frequently indicated that the programs were aired too late on school nights. Indeed, the first three most frequently restricted programs are shown after 9 p.m.

Table 1 shows that even the most highly restricted programs. Mannix and Cade's County, can still be viewed by three-fourths of the Michigan children in the first through eighth grades. The Saturday morning cartoons, which many researchers have shown to have the most violent acts, are off-limits for only 3% of all children in the Michigan sample. It is interesting to point out that only a handful of the children were not allowed to watch All in the Family, a seemingly "adult" program that Wisconsin parents would appear to be objecting to.

There are several important notes to be made about the factors related to parental restrictions. First, younger children are allowed to watch far fewer shows than teenagers, and boys can generally watch more than girls, (according to Lyle and Hoffman, p. 168, and McLeod, Atkins and Chaffee, pp. 217-218). Findings from the Maryland, Wisconsin, and Michigan samples indicate that there is no relationship between control over viewing and social class—middle class parents are no more restrictive than those from the working class. The Maryland and Wisconsin data suggest a mild positive relationship between the amount of affection that the parent displays and the degree of restrictiveness.

VIEWING WITH THE CHILD DURING VIOLENT PROGRAMMING

The California study shows that only 8% of the first graders *most* often watch TV with their parents alone, with the largest proportion viewing with siblings alone or both parents and siblings.

Among the California sixth and tenth graders, 42% "usually" watched TV with their parents, while the Maryland investigation showed that 26% "often" watch with parents.

More to the point, results from Wisconsin and Michigan indicate that parents frequently are present when the child it watching violent programming. In Wisconsin, 87% of the mothers said they had watched action and adventure shows with their children, and 75% of the Michigan mothers claimed that they did this. The identical proportion of the Michigan children said that their mothers watched these programs with them.

INTERPRETATION OF TV VIOLENCE FOR THE CHILD

The Wisconsin and Michigan studies asked both the mother and child about what the mother said during violent programs when characters were hurt badly. The results in the two studies are highly similar, so only the Michigan data are presented in Table 2.

In both studies, more than half of the mothers said that they at least sometimes told the child that there are "better ways than violence to solve problems, when TV characters were employing violence to gain some goal. Almost as many of the children agreed that their parents had explained this to them while viewing violence.

Almost half of the Michigan mothers and almost two-thirds of the Wisconsin mothers reminded the child not to copy the televised violence. Slightly less than half of the children in each study remembered hearing this when their parents watched violent shows with them.

Parents also frequently point out that TV violence is fictional and this message is received by about two-fifths of the children in each sample.

Again, this interpretation of fantasy violence occurs most often when the parents are watching with younger children, and amount of interpretation is unrelated to socio-economic status.

TEACHING THE CHILD NOT TO ACT AGGRESSIVELY

One of the most provocative findings of the McLeod, Atkin and Chaffee study showed that parents who frequently emphasized to the child that he not display aggressive behavior seemed to mitigate the effect of televised violence. Tables on pp. 238 and 312 present data showing the relationship between violence viewing and aggressive behavior in homes where the parent tried to teach the child not to act aggressively compared to homes where a more laissez-faire attitude was implemented. The relationship between violence viewing and aggressive behavior was much stronger in the half of the Maryland and Wisconsin samples where no emphasis was placed on nonviolent behavior—while only a slight positive relationship was found where the parents did emphasize nonviolence.

Thus, the parent may mediate the impact of violence on TV by the manner in which he trains the child to behave—even though the child is heavily exposed to violent acts and the TV violence is not interpreted for him.

A FINAL NOTE ON INFORMING PARENTS OF THE SURGEON GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

When the Surgeon General released his report in January, the coverage by the mass media was rather slight and somewhat confused and ambiguous. Interpretations by newspapers and television newsmen ranged from a strong casual relationship to no ill effects at all.

The Michigan study by Atkin collected data from the children both before and after the announcement, to determine how restrictions and interpretations of television violence changed as a function of parental awareness of the Surgeon General's report. The analyses are not yet complete, but they indicate only a slight move toward greater restrictiveness and no greater interpretation.

The mothers in Michigan were asked, "Last month, the Surgeon General of the United States made an announcement about television violence and its effects on children. Do you remember hearing or reading anything about it?"

No=42%; Yes=58%. Those who remembered were asked: "Can you tell me in a few words what was said about television violence?"

Responses were very hazy, although most had an idea that the research had established a link between viewing violence and aggression. Only a handful felt that the research showed that TV had no harmful effect. Nevertheless, most of these mothers were not well informed about the findings and implications of the studies. Among those who had heard about the announcement, 13% said they had changed their attitude toward seeking TV violence as having an effect of making children more aggressive, and 8% said they had become more stict in controlling what their children could watch on television.

The general lack of knowledge about the million dollar research program and the Surgeon General's conclusions suggest that an educational campaign should be instituted to inform the parents of America about the effects of television violence. This may encourage them to take a more substantial role in trying to mediate the impact of violent television programming, especially in terms of exercising more control over the types of shows that their children are allowed to view.

PROGRAM VIEWING RESTRICTIONS

"Are there any programs that your father or mother sometimes do *not* let you watch?" Circle the ones that you can't watch (this was followed by list of 18 shows):

[In percent]

Program	1st to 4th grade (N=172)	5th to 8th grade (N=180)	Program	1st to 4th grade (N=172)	5th to 8th grade (N=180)
Mannix	39	14	Mission Impossible	24	5
Cade's County	37	15	Cannon	23	6
Ironside	33	7	Roller Derby	18	8
O'Hara U.S. Treasury	33	7	Wrestling matches	17	9
Mod Squad	29	12	Football games	15	1
Alias Smith and Jones	28	6	Gunsmoke	12	6
Bonanza	27	10	Daniel Boone	12	3
Hawaii Five O	27	6	All in the Family	8	5
The F.B.I	25	5	Saturday cartoons	4	2

TABLE 2.—PARENTAL INTERPRETATION OF TELEVISION VIOLENCE

"Do your parents sit with you while you watch some Westerns or programs about police and criminals? (shows like Gunsmoke or Mod Squad or the other shows listed above)" Yes, 75%; No, 25% (included in Never percentage below).

IF YES: "When you watch these shows with your parents, how often do they say these things if someone in the story is hurt badly?"

Do they explain that there are better ways than fighting to handle problems: A Lot, 13%; Sometimes, 33; Never, 54.

Do they say that you should not copy the bad things that people do on these shows: A Lot, 13%; Sometimes, 30; Never, 57.

Do they remind you that the people on TV are just actors and are not really getting hurt: A Lot, 7%; Sometimes, 29; Never, 64.

Do they say that these stories are "just pretend": A lot, 6%; Sometimes, 34; Never, 60.

Do they tell you that things are not like this in real life: A lot, 5%; Sometimes, 45; Never, 50.

N, 352.

MOTHER'S REPORT

"Do you ever sit with (child) while he watches action and adventure programs, such as Westerns and crime shows?" Yes, 75%; No, 25.

IF YES: "When you watch these shows with (child), how often do you say the following things when someone in the story is hurt badly?"

Do you explain there are better ways than fighting to handle problems: A Lot, 34%; Sometimes, 21; Never, 45.

Do you say that he should not copy the bad things that people do on these shows: A Lot, 18%; Sometimes, 28; Never, 54.

Do you remind him that the people on TV are just actors and are not really getting hurt: A Lot, 21%; Sometimes, 33; Never, 46.

Do you say that these stories are "just pretend": A Lot, 20%; Sometimes, 38; Never, 42.

Do you tell him that things are not like this in real life: A Lot, 13%; Sometimes, 38; Never, 49.

N, 115 mothers referring to 195 children.

JOHN HILL SCHOOL,
Boonton, N.J.

ROBERT LEWIS SHAYTON,
Saturday Review

DEAR MR. SHAYTON: Enclosed is a copy of your recently-published article, as well as the comments concerning violence on television written by first graders at John Hill School. Perhaps you can read them and forward the letters to Senator Pastore for his use at the March hearings.

Sincerely,

Enclosure.

ELIZABETH ROBERTS,
First Year Teacher.

[From TV-Radio, Mar. 4, 1972]

TV WITHOUT TERROR

(By Robert Lewis Shayon)

Late in March, Senator John O. Pastore (D.-R.I.), chairman of the Senate subcommittee on communications, will hold his scheduled hearings on the recently released *Surgeon General's Report on Television and Social Behavior.* He then will be in the uncomfortable position of a man of good conscience who must commit an act of psychological violence to save his country from an act of even greater collective violence—the censorship of ideas. The act he must commit is to hold a handful of network executives personally responsible for the dehumanizing brutality that has swept across the small screens of the country since early in the 1950s. For twenty years Senate investigators from Kefauver to Pastore have inveighed against the evils of "the system" that generates TV violence, while exonerating those who run the system from any personal guilt.

The Surgeon General's report, pleading in its final chapter for a more humane treatment of the victims of violence on television, observes that "whenever aggressors can be helped to identify with victims, the aggression ceases." If the men who permit TV violence are the aggressors against the viewer-victims, Senator Pastore must point the finger of guilt at them so that they will feel a kind of pain corresponding to that suffered by their audiences.

That there are no other ways out of the violence dilemma than censorship or personal corporate responsibility has now become clear. The Surgeon General's Advisory Committee, which drafted the report, has found *"a preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior. . . ."* This finding is hedged by qualifications, but it has been agreed to by committee members who work for networks or have had industry ties.

This is a major breakthrough, for the industry has never been willing to concede a causal link between the viewing of TV violence and aggressive behavior. Some researchers who have conducted original experiments and surveys for the committee have charged that the evidence was watered down considerably by the full committee in its final report. Some committee members have countercharged that with $1-million of research money at their disposal those reseachers who were "predisposed" to finding a causal link merely were able to come up with limited findings indicating that the so-called causal link operates "only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive) . . . and only in some environmental texts."

Since a summary of the report was leaked to the press before the official release date, the report was issued without the several volumes of scientific papers. The nation's press generally collaborated in information distortion when it unfortunately interpreted the Surgeon General's Report as concluding that hard time correcting the original distortion in the public's mind. Senator Pastore's TV violence was not harmful to children. Now the complete data will have a projected hearings on the report, even amid the frenzy of sharp controversy surrounding it, will help the public learn the truth. Yet, if the past is precedent, the scenario of the coming hearings is predictable.

The National Association of Broadcasters and the networks will reassure the Senator that they have things well in hand, that they are making reforms, and that things will get better (this has been the industry refrain for 20 years). The Federal Communications Commission will wring its hands and declare itself powerless to censor program content. The Senator, if he follows the traditional script (he may not, of course), will gently chide the networks, but Congress will do nothing. Those men of conscience shrink from censorship, although the courts have upheld statutes protecting children from hard-core pornography.

The Surgeon General's report quite properly called for a broader definition of violence than the one of overt physical harm. *Questions not only of the dehumanization of aggressors and victims but also of good taste, common decency, and the desensitizing of viewers by brutality associated not with significant social experiences but merely with trivial cops-and-robbers extravaganzas must be considered.* Yet the findings of even tentative causal link between TV violence and aggression represents the crossing of a Rubicon. Further research may strengthen the evidence of that link. The plague must be arrested, and it can be if the networks, to avoid destructive competition for audiences, somehow agree to de-escalate violence collectively. Public-interest advocates appointed to the boards of the networks might help. A sense of personal responsibility on the part of the network chiefs would be better. All else failing, the nation will commit the ultimate violence upon itself by the act of censorship.

March 2, 1972

Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore,
I think violence
should not be on t.v. ...
but why did you poot
it on? and why
do you show the
killing on t.v?.
Sincerely
Valerie taylor.

March 2, 1972

Dear Hon Sen pastore,

I think Violnce should not be on T.V. becaused a lot of people woch them and thay becam crasy. so I think it should be stop.

Sincerely,

Brett Wilde

March 2, 1971

Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore,

I think Violence Should not be on T.V. ... because I don't like it. When I go by the T.V. I turn the T.V. off. But, ; Why did you Put it on. I don't Wotch anything like that.

Joanne [illegible]

Sincerely,

Dear Hon. sen. pas tore
I think voilence should not be
on T.V. all they do is
cill cill cill. vy do they
cill! now people care don't
wen care wen people
get shot. You no people
get cilled and peaple
don't help them?
so are you going to
cepe ceap the bad sho
sincerely Ken Zobel

March 2, 1972

Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore, I Think violence should not be on T.V. becaulse it is not good for childrn and win childrn grow up vidence is not good for them.

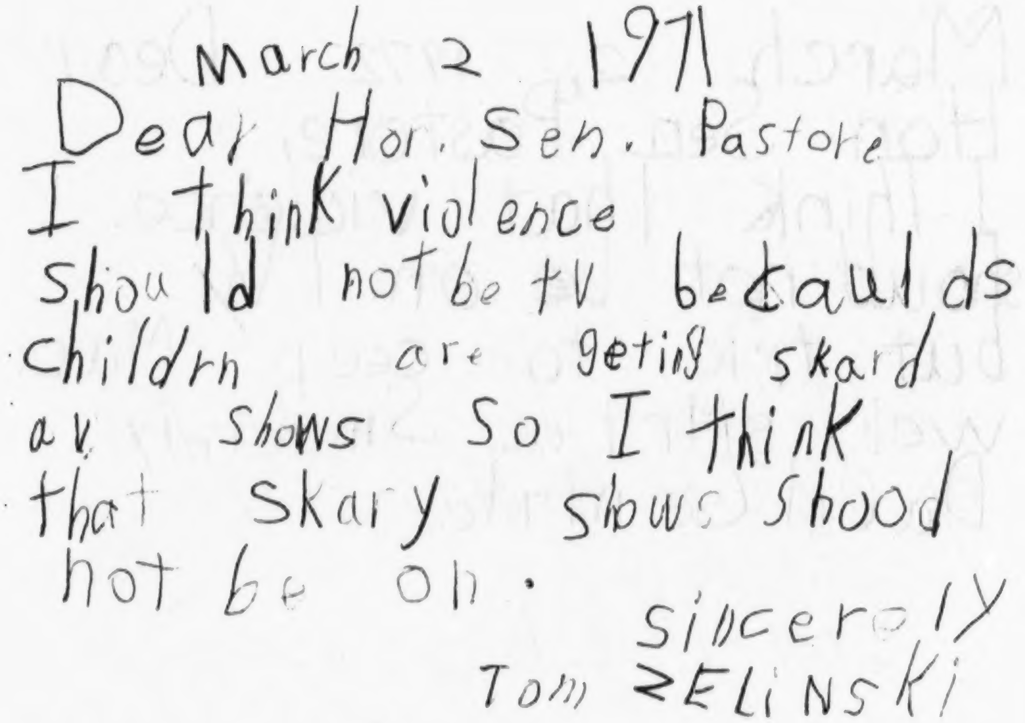
Sincerely, Frank Bevacqua.

March 2, 1972
Dear Hon Sen Pastore,
I think violence
should not be on t.v.
becaus the peopl
will grow up and be bad.
or ~~e~~ignour mrdrs like they do.
sincerely
Erel Michael Hooey

March 2 1972

Dear Hon sen Pastore
I Think violence
should not be on T.V.
I Do not Like The sPoocky
shose. LiKE Crecher Fecher.
Thaye are to sPoocky.
AND Thay are NoT
Nise.

Dow W
VAN le ten



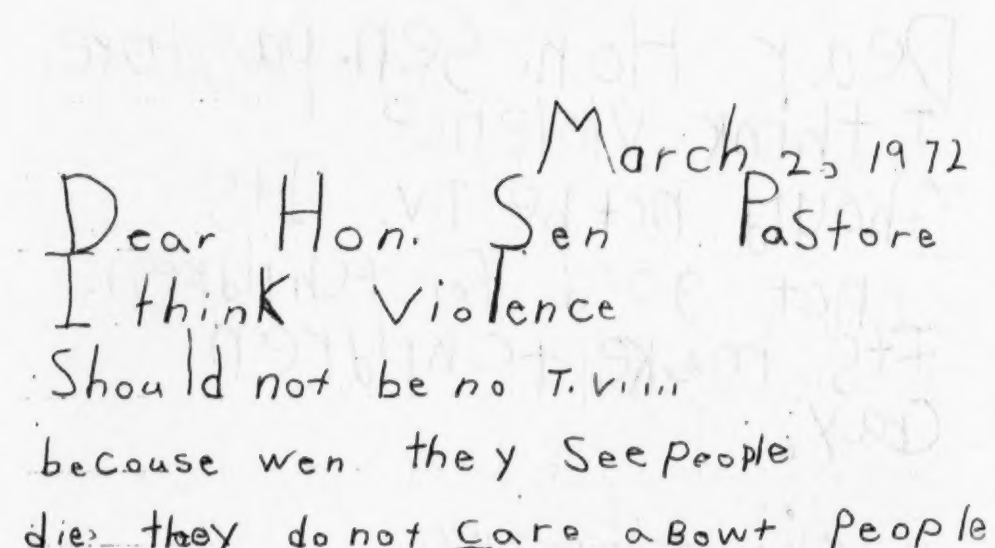
March 2 1971

Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore

I think violence
should not be tv becaulds
childrn are geting skard
av shows So I think
that skary shows shood
not be on.

Sincerely

Tom ZELINSKI



March 2, 1972

Dear Hon. Sen Pastore

I think Violence
Should not be no T.V...
becouse wen they See People
die they do not care abowt People
eny more. So I hope they
take bad t.v. Progams off

Jacqueline Embley Sincerely

March 2, 1972 Dear
Hon. Sen. Pastore,
I Think That violence.
shoud not be on TV.
but trie to ceep Macx
wel sMrt on. Sincerely
David Gentile

March 2.1972

Dear Hon. Sen. pastore,
I think violence
Should not be T.V. Its
not good for tchildren.
Its make tchildren
cray.

sincerely,
Joseph Venito

March 2, 1972

Ⓓ Dear Hon Sen pastore
I think violence
should not be on T.V.
we dobt like vis. we
wont ⓦvis to stop.

sincerely
Amy Erny

March 2, 1972

Dear Hon.Sen. Pastore,
I Think Violence
Should not be on T.V.

be cause win pepl Grow
up Tha mat kil pepl.
Sincerely,
WiLLam STITT.

March 2) 1972
Dear Hon Sen pastore)
I think violence
Shoulb not be on tv
Jed ypicaro

Sincerely

March 2, 1972
Dear Hon Sen Pastore
I Then Wiolence
should not be on T V Be kas
I want to help The
Peple so Thay wont
get kilT Be kas I dot
want The peple Be kas I
Love The peple and help
The Peple. Bobbi

MaRch 2 1972

DeaR Hon. S-n. Pastore
I Think Violence
SHould NOT be ON T.V....
because I dont Lic it
SinceRely Frank Evans

March 2, 1972
Dear Hon. Sen. pastore,
I think violence
should, not be on T.V.
I don't like killing ShoS.
I don't like creachr
Feach. Sincerely,
Janis Ridings.

March 2, 1972
Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore,
I think violence
should not beon T.V it is
too scared for little kids.
Sincerely, Donna Bradway

March 2, 1972
Dear Hon Sen pastore,
I think violence
should not be on T.V.
My brover shood not
wotch it. sincerely
Laura Russo.

March 2, 1/72

Dear Hon. Sen. Pastore,
I think violence
Should not be on T.V. because
it is not a good Show because
cilin is not nis And it is not nis.

Sincerely,
Chris Laurenzi

Marech 2, 1972

Dear Hon. Sen pastore,
I Think violence
should not be on T.V. because
I Don't Watch it sincerely,
Cherise Johnson.

Dear Hon Sen Pastore
I think violence
should not be on T.V....
Ples Stop The war
Pictwrs.
ma sincerely. March 2, 1972
2 Michael G Gentile

Views on Television Violence

(By Thomas A. Shine)

Early one morning toward the end of last summer, I sat in the Senate galleries passively watching the comings and goings of a handful of Senators and the young pages assigned to assist them. Shortly after the nearly empty chamber where this country's deliberative body lives its official life was gaveled to order, Senator Robert Byrd, Democratic whip rose to read a statement into the Congressional record. The Senator's pronouncement praised the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), for programming the highly acclaimed cultural experience, "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII." Senator Byrd described the program as one of the finest moments in television and hastily began to use the rather mild ratings success of this venture as proof that solid, non-violent, quality productions could survive in a multimillion dollar videoland of glamourized violence. Pointing a finger of judgement at certain shows like the one which stars a policeman in a wheelchair, he warned that the networks were failing in their obligation to safeguard the American people against increasing violence inspired and promoted by television programming.

Senator Byrd's statement, though it can be praised for its sincere attack on the glorious portrayal of violence on television, it cannot be so highly praised for its accuracy of insight in spelling out the basic reason why violence reigns on network television. Though CBS was probably pleased with the Senator's accolade, there is some doubt that "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" was really the success in the numbers game that CBS for its own advertising purposes, or Senator Byrd for other reasons, made it out to be. The audience for this type of production was sufficiently large to classify it at least worth the effort, but other seasonal factors figured more in the numbers, than any burning desire of the American public to taste a cultural event in their own living rooms.

(1) CBS had scheduled, very wisely, "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" immediately following the Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour. With a lead-in like that smash hit summer replacement, "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" was assured a healthy share of that audience, many of whom according to researchers would remain comfortable in their chairs snacking, too apathetic to put aside their food

and get up to change the channel. Networks plan their yearly schedules very shrewdly on the lead-in principle hoping to initially captivate an audience, and then keep it all night long.

(2) The other two networks, ABC, and NBC were both showing summer reruns of such block busters as "Bonanza," "The Bold Ones," and the "ABC Sunday Night Movie." Reruns always show a measurable decline in audience pull and so one has to suspect that many watched CBS's presentation simply to escape the endless reruns. "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" was the only first run show on network television in that time slot on Sunday night.

(3) "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" was only a six week program. The real test for a program of this nature would have been a 24 week run against first run shows in the Bonanza, or Movie series. Given those circumstances it would have been suicidal for a betting man to put his money on "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII."

(4) "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" in the final analysis was a violent program. The difference between the beheading and various other physical and mental cruelties suffered by Henry's six wives and a murder scene in "Hawaii 5-0" was the rather subtle and mostly symbolic portrayal of the violence in the BBC Production, as contrasted with the terribly vivid, grafic displays on American television. Regardless of how you view it, it is still violence, and the problem of violence on television is still unsolved.

This is not to suggest that the presentation of "The Six Wives of Henry VIII" was of no consequence or value to the American television viewer usually subjected to programming lacking imagination, quality, and substance. It is, though, an attempt to be realistic in judging the feasibility of presenting such programming from a monetary and ratings viewpoint and the mild suggestion that Americans when given the choice between a first run police series and "The Six Wives of Henry the VIII" will watch the violent detective program.

If we are to take Marshall McLuhan, one of the foremost experts on the media, seriously when he says that television unlike the movies, print, and radio is a media which completely envelops the person, engaging him actively in connecting the dots and lines of the television screen to make a picture complete, sensible and live, then we must also take very seriously the viewers active participation in completing the image of violence broadcast on television. Though Mr. McLuhan may be exaggerating his point when stressing how totally involved the television viewer is, many other professionals including some psychologists have produced studies that document television's affect on the viewer. Of course much more accurate studies will be possible with the present generation who are growing up from playpen to adulthood in the company of the electronic box. Nevertheless we can not wait for those studies, still some years off.

However, like so many other problems our government has decided to tackle this problem by attempting to regulate and abolish the flow of violence over the airways in much the same way that they have sought to regulate and abolish crime, regulate and abolish poverty, regulate and abolish war. Instead of pursuing a plan devised to hit at the root base of violence, the government has and is now continuing to consider only plans to regulate the amount and nature of violence programmed each day into millions of homes around the country. Backing up the control is the ever-watchful FCC, hanging over the heads of broadcasters license renewals and official broadcast sanction. It fits perfectly with the pattern established to handle a riot once it has broken out into full scale warfare, while stubbornly refusing to attempt to eliminate the causes of the riot in the first place. The government is in essence not as concerned with stopping violence as they are with censoring the portrayal of violence, America's day to day life, on television.

Much like those involved in the cinema, plays, and great literary works of a nation, those involved in television, though the others mentioned might find the suggestion repugnant, are in their own crude way reflecting the country's lifestyle, and civilization. This is precisely where the problem of violence comes in. The United States was founded in a style of fast moving violence, and continues to operate in a masochism of bombings, murders, rapes, thefts and almost every conceivable perversion imaginable. It should come as no surprise that the television screens portray violence, when violence has always been and still is the basic American way, our civilization. The United States Government has always spent so much more money on defense and instruments of war, than on education and the arts. The United States Government has always promoted the military image of violence as a sign of manliness, and has always legalized certain forms of violence especially those used by law enforcement agencies. In movies, books, and television violence has been inspired directly by the lawfully condoned violent lifestyle of America. I personally find it difficult for any Senator to be aghast at a grafic scene on "Hawaii 5-0" when the real-life counterpart use violence that makes "Hawaii 5-0" seem mild. The government has no problem sanctioning Kent State's bloody trouble, but for some reason worries about far less violent scenes on television.

From a child's earliest experiences of life as an American, he is spanked, slapped, and disciplined with rulers and sticks, in effect taught right and wrong with violence the most common method used, and then to the classroom years later where the emphasis is on the righteous use of violence which is another way of saying American Violence, and finally to the day when as an adult, he is now so completely saturated with certain types of legally sanctioned violence, that one result is a person who enjoys immensely, violence as entertainment. The other result is a corporation or corporations that satisfy that desire for violent entertainment, namely television and radio networks, publishing houses and film studios. In essence it is unfair to expect television networks or the American Public for that matter, to accept with open arms, non-violent programming when their government with considerably more money and power is begging them to accept the exact opposite.

A professor in Communication Arts, who was one of my instructors at the University of Notre Dame once suggested that network television program violence in such a way that it would show vividly the sufferings caused to the victims, the real horror and nature of violence. His reasoning was that such accurate realism would be repugnant to the average television viewer, and would cause him to rise up and rebel against such programming much in the same way young people have demonstrated against the Vietnam War. Whether his suggestion would ever work is doubtful, but it certainly could never work as long as the American Government persists by its actions and rhetoric to promote violence. Merely opening "Gunsmoke" with Matt Dillion riding a horse instead of killing an outlaw in a draw, is an ineffective, meaningless, and phony method of solving the problem of violence on television. The American approach to life, the government attitude of confrontations, power and might through force has to change. Non-Violence must be promoted as seriously and actively as the present military image is today. The basic attitude both in action and rhetoric must be one of non-violent solutions to problems. Though this bit of idealism would probably never succeed entirely, or even significantly alter our way of life, it would be a giant step for mankind in the right direction. One result might be the gradual decrease of violence on network television.

MARCH 29, 1972.

Hon. ELLIOT LEE RICHARDSON,
Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Mr. Nicholas Zapple, of our Committee staff, at our direction, had been in contact with Mr. Merlin K. DuVal's office, the Assistant Secretary, regarding the recent hearings being held by the Committee on the Surgeon General's report, "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence."

As you know, just as critical as the answer the Report gave the question of televised violence and its impact on children is the need for action to implement its findings. As was stated during the hearings, failure to act is an acquiescence in the continuation of the present level of television violence entering American homes.

Your Department is, of course, the principal agency of Government responsible for the physical and mental health of our citizens. We are, therefore, requesting that your Department proceed in consultation with the Federal Communications Commission to develop a measurement for violence on television so that a report can be submitted annually to this Committee on the level of violence entering American homes.

For your information, a copy of the statement made at the recent hearings that appears on page 549 on this subject is enclosed. While much needs to be done by all concerned in view of the Advisory Committee's and the Surgeon General's findings we believe this is one immediate step that is clearly necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Warren G. Magnuson,
Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee.
John O. Pastore,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications.

[Enclosure]

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Washington, D.C., May 12, 1972.

Hon. John O. Pastore,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Pastore: Thank you for your letter of March 29 signed also by Senator Warren G. Magnuson regarding the need to follow up the Surgeon General's report, "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence," by the development of measures which can be utilized in monitoring the

The National Institute of Mental Health has already awarded a two-year research grant, amounting to $100,000 in direct costs, to Dr. George Gerbner at the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, to develop indicators of trends in prime-time television dramatic content and of their effects. In particular, NIMH staff and the scientific consultants who reviewed Dr. Gerbner's research plans requested him to devote special attention to developing a methodology that will allow a meaningful assessment of not only the level of violence in TV but its context and meaning to the viewer. This work is essential to larger efforts to monitor TV violence regularly in a meaningful way useful to those responsible for planning social policy.

Staff of the NIMH are presently actively involved in discussing with experts in the field both theoretical and methodological issues is developing indices of the meaning and effects of TV programming. On June 2, following discussion on overall program thrust, the Institute has scheduled an intensive workshop to address these specific issues and to lay out directions for further NIMH efforts in this area. Very frankly, an assessment of the "state of the art" is required before developing a "violence index" of the scope you have suggested. Staff from NIMH extra- and intramural research programs, a Federal Communications Commission representative, investigators in this field, and representatives from Foundations involved in this area of research will take part. By June 30, we will be able to provide you with our best judgment on the feasibility of developing such an index.

I am asking the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission to designate a representative to work with this Department in this planning.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson, *Secretary.*

March 29, 1972.

Hon. Dean Burch,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Burch: Your recent testimony before the Committee on the Surgeon General's Report reflected your often expressed concern about children's television. We would hope that everyone having special responsibility in this area is sufficiently impressed by the Surgeon General's unequivocal statement about the causal connection between televised violence and anti-social behavior to act expeditiously and effectively. As he said, failure to act is an acquiescence in the continuation of the present level of televised violence entering American homes.

We have respectfully requested the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to confer with the Federal Communications Commission and jointly develop a measurement for violence on television so that the Secretary may report annually to this Committee on the level of televised violence entering American homes. Enclosed is a copy of the statement that appeared on page 549 of the transcript from the recent hearing on this subject matter.

The Committee was encouraged by your statement that the Commission intends to "create a climate for the responsible, cooperative effort that clearly is called for," and will be following the Commission's activity closely.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee.
JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications.

[Enclosure]

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN,
Washington, D.C., April 3, 1972.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications, Senate Commerce Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of March 29 and the enclosed excerpt from the transcript of the recent Communications Subcommittee hearings on televised violence.

As you know, I fully share your view as to the high importance of this matter and intend to use every resource of my office to encourage genuine progress in two complementary directions: less gratuitous violence and more variety in the programming directed by the broadcast media to young viewers. The Surgeon General's report and the Subcommittee hearings were major milestones along the way.

I am directing my own staff to take the lead in exploring with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Surgeon General the parameters of developing such a "measurement for violence" as you propose, and to identify the resources we will need to undertake so complex a job. For my own part, I want simply to repeat what I said at the hearings: that the cooperation of all the industries involved will be crucial to our success.

We will, of course, keep you informed on a continuing basis as we come to grips with this new mandate for action.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

DEAN BURCH, *Chairman.*